The determinants of education in Tudhoe 1876 - 1904

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THE DETERMINANTS OF EDUCATION IN TUDHOE

1876 - 1904

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ILLUSTRATIONS

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis is a study of the provision of educational facilities in a mining village in County Durham during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. It shows that there was a shortage of school places before the passing of the Elementary Education Act in 1870 and demonstrates the efforts of the school board to provide sufficient school places for the children in the area. This involved a thorough sifting and evaluation of the relevant documents.

It considers in detail the formation of and the work of the first schoolboard and other subsequent boards. The thesis examines the life and working conditions of the elementary school teacher during the latter part of the last century. It goes on to look at the school curriculum which was considerably widened by the introduction of new subjects throughout the school board period.

The study considers the hypothesis that the last century was a time of bitter religious strife. It shows that the ordinary man was not nearly so conscious of the religious question as those providing the education thought. In conclusion the thesis shows that whilst the education provided by the 1870 Act was adequate at that time it soon became apparent that this was insufficient for the more intelligent pupils. The study demonstrates that the area around Tudhoe was in the forefront in providing higher elementary education in County Durham.

CHAPTER 1

TUDHOE AT WORK AND LEISURE

During the nineteenth century there was a rapid and dramatic change in the landscape of County Durham. By 1850 what had previously been a society of small scattered, largely agricultural communities was already well advanced in the transformation into an industrialized and urbanized society. Coal mining and heavy industry, often dependent upon coal, became the dominant elements in the economic development and the main determinants in the distribution of population. The Industrial Revolution gave the Durham pits their greatest stimulus, particularly for steam coal for the railways and mills, and coking coal for iron-smelting. Output rocketed and new pits were sunk at an alarming rate. Throughout the region places which were mere farm houses on Morden's early maps were hastily built round a pit head as a rash of pit heaps spread eastwards across the county. However, many of these places fell into decay once the pit had been exhausted. Tudhoe was one of these places.

The village of Tudhoe is situated approximately three miles south-east from Brancepeth, about five miles south-west from Durham and one mile south of the River Wear. The parish of Tudhoe includes Tudhoe Village, Tudhoe Colliery, Mount Pleasant and Low Spennymoor, which is that portion of the parish which lies to the south of the road leading from Merrington Lane by Half Moon Lane to meet the Great North Road at the Thinford Inn.

The main road from the Great North Road to Brancepeth across the ford of the River Wear passed through Tudhoe. Consequently there was a considerable amount of traffic passing through the village. To accommodate this traffic, two public houses were built in the village. The Green Tree is

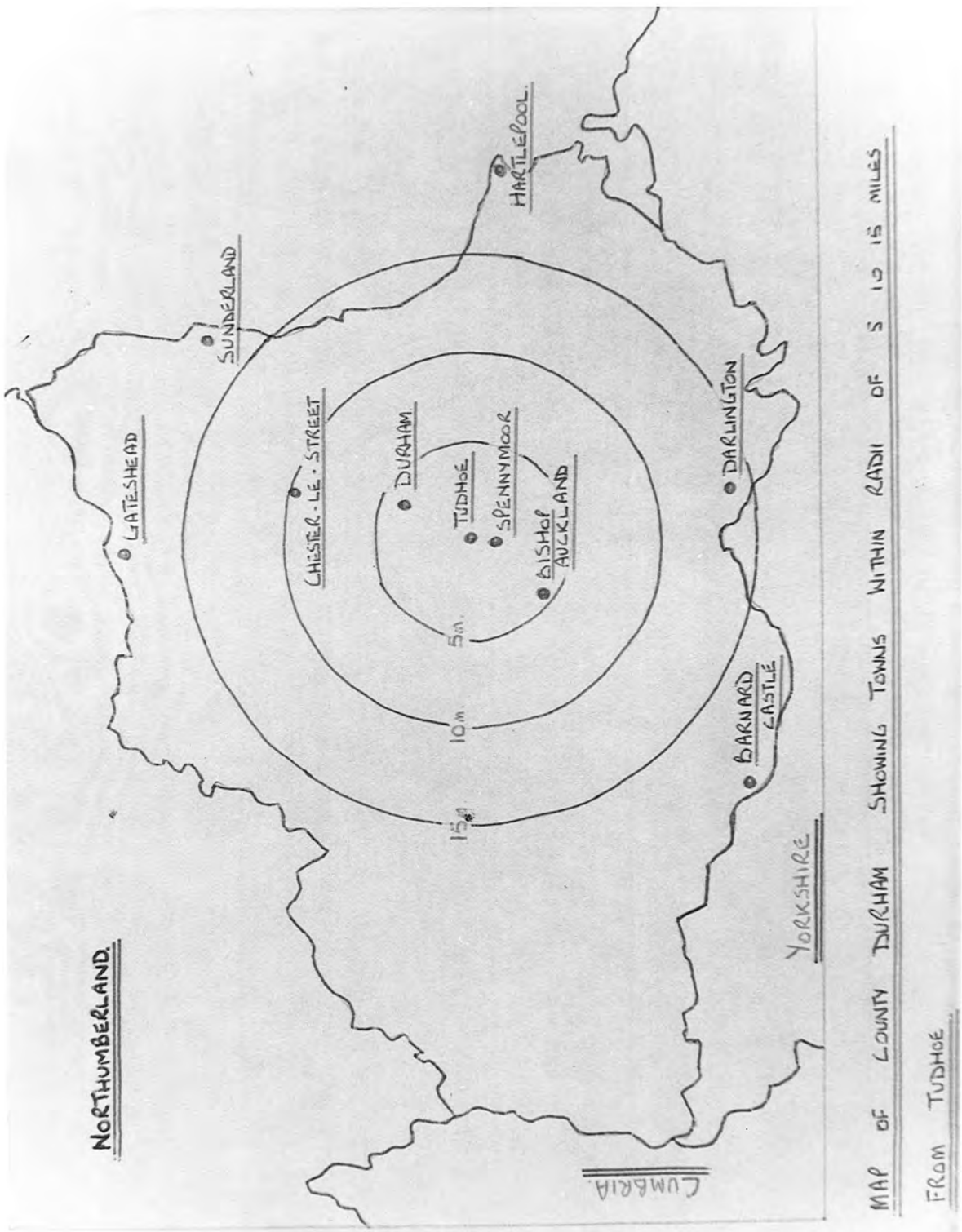

Plate 1. Map of County Durham showing towns within radii of 5, 10 and 15 miles from Tudhoe.

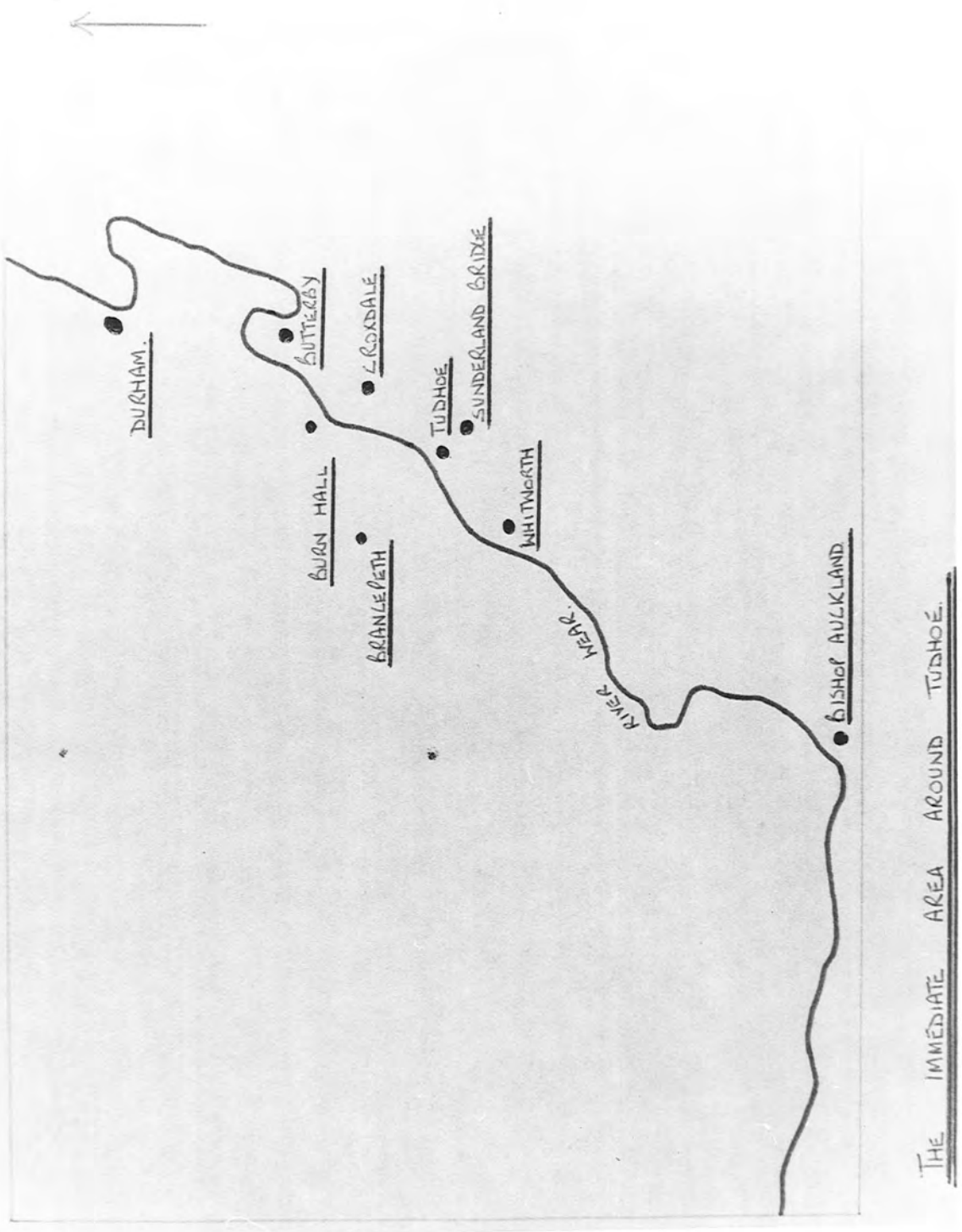

Plate 2. The immediate area around Tudhoe.

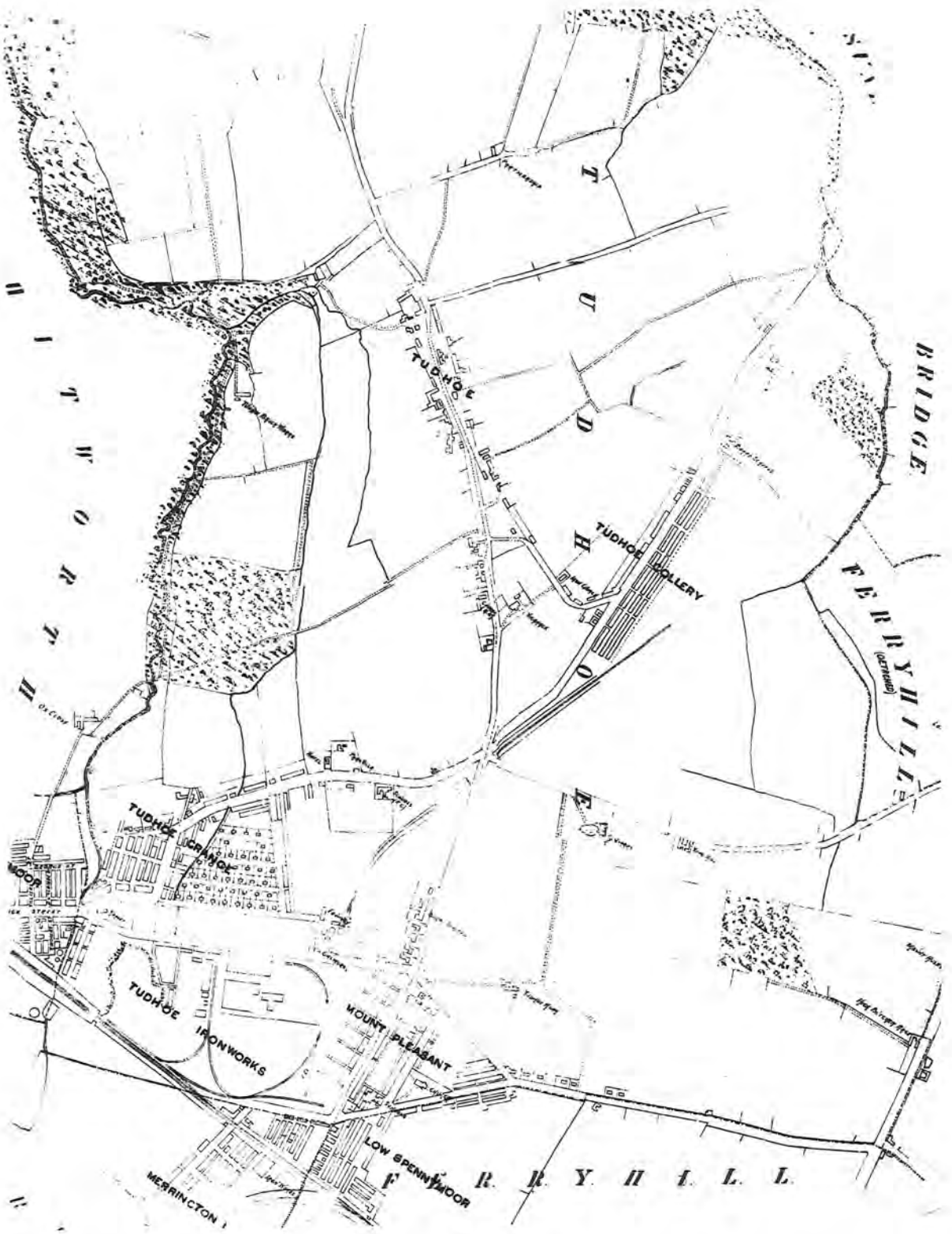

Plate 3. The Ecclesiastical District of Tudhoe - 1882.

still in existence, but the George and Dragon was converted into a vicarage and used as such until a suitable house could be built. The Brancepeth ford was never particularly safe, although it was always passable during the summer months. However, in 1877, a young boy persisted against all warnings in driving his cart through the river when in flood. He was swept away and drowned. After this the ford fell into disuse and gradually the banks became so silted with sand that there was no possibility of it ever being used again.

Two possible explanations on the derivation of the name Tudhoe were made by P. H. Reaney and E. Ekwall. The former considers that the name could be derived ultimately from the Old Welsh stem 'tud' meaning people.[1] The latter suggests that the name is derived from Tudda's HŌH, HŌH meaning a spur of land.[2]

During the latter part of the eighteenth century, Dr. Lingard, a historian, came to Tudhoe in charge of the Douai Refugees. Douai was the name of the great Catholic seminary founded by Cardinal Allen for the reception of English youths, who were prevented by religious persecutions of the time from studying for the priesthood in their own country. One of the earliest achievements was the production of the famous Douai translation of the Bible. This college became famous all over Europe. During the French Revolution many of its students came to England to escape persecution and took refuge in the school-master's house at Tudhoe.

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1. P. H. Reaney, The Origins of English Place Names, 1960, p. 66.

2. E. Ekwall, The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place Names, Oxford, 1966, p. 481.

Every region has its notable families and Tudhoe was no exception. By assiduously purchasing small pieces of land over the centuries, the Salvins gradually accumulated their estate around Tudhoe. The Salvins were one of the noted Catholic families in the region. Although they had a tradition of having a strongly Catholic distaff side, the male members sometimes found it politic to take an oath of conformity when required. Indeed it has been said that Catholicism only survived in this country because the heads of the important families preserved their wealth by occasional conformity while their wives passed on the faith.

Joceus le Flemagh, who came to this country with William the Conqueror, is claimed to be the ancestor of the Salvins. He acquired lands at Cukeney in Nottinghamshire. His great-grandson was Sheriff of Nottinghamshire. Gradually the family moved north and settled in North Yorkshire.

The family finally settled in Croxdale, near Tudhoe in 1402 when Gerard Salvin married Agnes, Lady of Croxdale, only daughter and heiress of Joanna, Lady of Croxdale. By making judicious marriages the Salvins not only maintained and strengthened their position in the area but they were also related to most of the noble families of the land, including Catherine Parr, the sixth wife of Henry VIII.

In 1568, Mary, Queen of Scots, a Catholic and heir apparent to the English throne, arrived in England. Her immediate imprisonment stirred Henry Neville, Earl of Westmorland and Thomas Percy, Earl of Northumberland, into action. They raised a small army at Brancepeth in November of that year and marched into Durham. The Protestant bishop fled and there was no resistance. The Rising had started. The rebels were soon in control of the whole of Durham county and most of Yorkshire and immediately set about

restoring the old religion. There was no doubt that this religious restoration was popular. The success of the Rising was short, however, for the earls were poor generals and had no clear plans. By December, 1589, the Rising was over. Elizabeth I ordered the executions of 700 persons.

Gerard Salvin had been involved in the Rising but he afterwards conformed and was pardoned. His son, also Gerard, only became a Catholic shortly before his death in 1602 but he had married a strong Catholic, Anne Blakiston, who did her best to bring their children up as Catholics. Their third son, Ralph, gave some details of his early life when, at the age of twenty, he entered the English College, Rome, in 1620. He had been sent to Durham School; however, two other boys started insulting him and calling him a Papist. The quarrel became violent and Ralph knocked one of them down. These two boys were, unfortunately, the sons of important people, the Bishop of Durham and a Justice called Wren, so Ralph was expelled. The estate by this time had passed to the conformist eldest son, also Gerard, so their widowed mother, probably sure in the knowledge that the estate would not be endangered, sent Ralph to complete his education at St. Omers. He was ordained in 1624 but he was in poor health and died of consumption in 1625 without ever returning to England.[3]

During the quiet period which occurred at this time, Gerard had obviously reverted to Catholicism. However, following the seizure of the lands of sixty recusants, the pressure to conform was immense. In 1626 he made a formal public submission in Durham Cathedral.

The Civil War saw the Salvins fighting for the Royalist cause. Francis Salvin fell at the Battle of Marston Moor. Gerard Salvin and his two sons,

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3. J. M. Tweedy, Popish Elvet, Darlington, 1981, p. 27.

Gerard and Bryan, took up the colours. The elder son was killed in action. The two Gerards had both signed the Protestation so the survivors were only charged as delinquents; Gerard compounded and was fined the enormous sum of £800, but Bryan was clever enough to compound when his total wealth was only £20, of which he was fined one sixth.[4]

About this time Anthony Salvin removed from Croxdale to Sunderland Bridge and formed the Protestant branch of the family. Why Anthony did this is a matter of conjecture. Perhaps the enormity of his brother's fine caused him to have serious doubts about following the Catholic religion. It was this side of the family which produced Anthony, the architect. He designed many churches in the county including St. Anne's Church in Bishop Auckland, Holy Trinity Church in Darlington and St. Stephen's Church in South Shields. He also converted the Castle Keep into sleeping quarters for the students at Durham University in 1840.[5] A year later he built the Observatory in Durham City. His last task for the University was in 1858 when he designed the Library on Palace Green.[6]

The Salvins were extremely proud of Croxdale Woods which were part of their estates. The planting not only beautified both the parkland and the estates, it was also a source of delight to the owners. Much of the attractiveness of the English countryside has its origins in the enlightened taste of the eighteenth century landowners. Woodland was also a source of income and the records of the Salvins illustrate this aspect of estate management as well as the care and interest bestowed upon it through the generations, and the element of trial and error involved.

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4. J. M. Tweedy, Popish Elvet, Darlington, 1981, p. 40.

5. N. Pevsner, The Buildings of England, County Durham, 1953, p. 122.

6. Ibid., p. 132.

William Thomas Salvin began his woodland records in 1788 when he commented that he had great pleasure in planting and taking care of his plantations by keeping them well fenced, thinned and pruned. Ten years later he announced that he had preserved some trees as monuments to posterity. These trees included "The Great Oak in Croxdale Wood". Salvin declared this to be the largest tree in the North of England, although later he had to admit that he had seen a larger tree on the Gibside estate.

Salvin obviously took a great interest in his estates. He planted a number of curious trees and shrubs on the edge of the terrace walk from the paper mill eastwards to the garden of the house. These included Cedars of Lebanon, Black Larch and several American Thorns. He also listed ornamental shrubs and trees which were suitable for the climate of Croxdale. A great testing time for him came during the hard frosts of May 1814, in which indigenous oak and ash and the non-indigenous silver birch and larch were severely affected. In spite of these setbacks Salvin read a paper to the Horticultural Society in London in 1829 on "The Cultivation of the Vine upon the open wall at Croxdale".[7]

Fellings from the woods were used or sold for construction works, posts and fencing, barrel-making and corf rods, the latter for baskets or corves, probably for hauling up coals from the mines. Oak bark went for use in the gardens.

One of the better known members of the Salvin family was born in 1804. He was Gerard, who succeeded to the estate in 1842. This Gerard, the fourteenth to bear the name was, for several years, very distinguished on the turf, and could be described in the words of Bell's Life as

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7. Vera Chapman, Rural Durham, Durham, 1977, p.59.

> a high-born owner who kept his stud more as a luxury, and as a means of passing a pleasant hour or two, who ignored betting in toto, a class which has now given place to another type of racing men who make the turf a profession in which to embark capital as in any other speculation.[8]

Gerard was not the only member of the family to share this love of horse racing. Two hundred and fifty years earlier an ancestor, William, ran a horse at Woodham in the presence of James I.[9] When Gerard died in 1870 he was succeeded by his son Henry, who had been an officer in the army. On his retirement he joined the Durham Fusilier Militia.

Gerard's brother Marmaduke was aware of the desperate need for housing for the sudden influx of workers to Tudhoe. Between 1865 and 1870 he built an estate of workers' houses at Tudhoe Grange. These were placed along four parallel streets, but instead of being in long terraces they were semi-detached and arranged chequer-board-wise so loosely that no house overlooked another at either the front or back. Each pair of houses was set in a quarter of an acre of land. Considering the date of building this was a remarkably far-seeing contribution to the problem of working-class housing.[10]

Before the coming of the Industrial Revolution the population of Tudhoe earned its living in various ways, including paper-making. The manufacture of hand-made paper in small vat-mills was a streamside industry that especially flourished in Durham until about 1800, when the invention of a continuous paper-making machine and the application of steam power altered the nature of the industry and relocated it.

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8. Salvin Papers D/Sa/F 284 D. R. O.

9. Roman Catholic Records, Vol. 12, D/PH 115/12 D. R. O.

10. N. Pevsner, The Buildings of England, County Durham, 1953, p. 233.

Paper-making was slow to get started in England in the face of French competition and expertise. By 1700 there were about 100 paper mills in England, mainly in the south-east, but by 1800 there were about 400, and altogether over 500 existed at one time or another before 1800.[11]

Croxdale Paper Mill was the first to be established in County Durham. Built possibly in 1658 and more definitely there by 1678 on the Salvin family's estate in the deep cleft of Croxdale Beck. Most of the mills made "common" or brown paper for wrapping and rough use, but good quality paper for writing and printing was made at Croxdale.

The burial in 1678 of the wife of John Benson, paper-maker of Sunderland Bridge appears to be the first indication of the industry in Durham, but the Salvin family papers record the building of Croxdale Mill in 1658. Extant leases for Croxdale Paper Mill span the years 1682 to 1816.

The mill was rebuilt in 1771-2 and then leased by William Salvin to Christopher and Jonathan Ord, papermakers both of Lamesley. A dwelling house, drying houses, a stable, mill dam and water race were mentioned. Items in the several estimates indicate a walled-in mill race forty five yards long with an arched wall over it, and buildings of ashlar stone with pantiled roofing supported by deals and firs. The machinery included a fourteen feet diameter oak water wheel, six feet broad with iron bolts and nails and deal buckets, oak axle trees and cast iron gear wheels, a large cistern and trough, six feet long, rollers, press frames, a new vat and stove and two chimneys. A further estimate mentioned an engine, tub, vat and stuff trough and three thousand laths to dry the paper on.

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11. Vera Chapman, Rural Durham, Durham, 1977, p.14

A few years later, in 1783, thirteen acres of land were leased and farming combined with work at the mill, and in 1792 an additional drying house was requested. In 1816 workmen's wages of £251 were paid for rebuilding the paper mill, when it was leased to Robert Teasdale of Croxdale, as a two vat mill.

There was also a corn mill in the area. In 1812 the Salvin family had an estimate for rebuilding:

1 watter wheel 9 feet side, 3 setts of Arms	£70
A sett of water troughs for Do. with gates	18
An axis for Do. with Headstocks and Frames	28
A cog wheel with Segments	23
An upright Axis, spin wheel and Bramil Wallier	35
3 Nutts and Boxes	15
Foot Bridges and Briers	13
1 Blue Stone, 4 ft. 6 ins.	25
Cases for Do.	4
Crown wheel	10
An axis with 2 wheels for Cilender	9
A Cilender £17 Do. Frames fitt up £15	32
A Corn Screen and fitt up	15
A Barley Mill compleat	25
Tumbling Shaft Nutt and Cogg wheel for Do.	18
A Stagin and Hoisting Tackle and Chain	7
	£347

In addition, wood for rebuilding, including oak (£124), wych elm, Dutch elm, poplar, larch fir, Scotch fir, and beech - £233.

A pair of millstones cost £39, a new flour machine £23. A pair of new French stones £25. Demolition, labouring, carting and further components were extra.[12]

The mill was used for many more years until the wheel mill was thrown out of gear by colliery subsidence and the mill was finally dismantled.

During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, agriculture was the most important economic activity within the region. Coal-mining was confined within narrow limits, constrained by technical limitations in production and transport. However, by the mid-nineteenth century the relative importance of these industries had altered. The 1851 census showed 41,089 employed in coal-mining as against 35,522 in farming.[13] This shift was due mainly to a very rapid expansion of mining in County Durham.

In the early nineteenth century, Tudhoe was very much an agricultural community. In 1841, 1,654 acres (almost the whole of the village) were turned over to farming. There were twelve farms ranging from Tudhoe Moor Farm with an acreage of 279, to the small-holding of Green Cottage which covered only eight acres. During the next decade two hundred acres of this farming land were lost to industry.

Under normal circumstances a rapid growth in population provides a ready market for agricultural products on the farmer's doorstep, particularly for perishable products such as milk. By tradition, the producer-retailer became well-established in this area as well as around all the large villages and small townships tied to the coal industry. However, by 1871, Tudhoe was so overwhelmed by industry that the number of farms was reduced to four employing only seven labourers in all. The farming land in the village had been drastically reduced to only 596 acres. These farms had a ready market for the sale of hay and oats

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12. Salvin Papers, D/Sa/E 640-642. D.R.O.

13. N. McCord, North East England, The Region's Development, 1760-1960, 1979, p.26.

to the collieries for the large number of pit ponies made these products into local cash crops throughout the area. Although some of the agricultural labourers had gone to work in the ironworks, lured no doubt by the wages, the decrease in their numbers can be accounted for by the increased cost of labour, improved agricultural machinery and lower prices paid for agricultural products.

There were three notable farms in the area, Mill Farm, Coldstream Farm and North Farm. Mill Farm was immediately opposite to the mill. It belonged to the executors of Henry Salvin. The Roman Road from Bishop Auckland via Shincliffe to Sunderland passed behind this farm and was used in Norman and Tudor times as a pack trail. Coldstream Farm was an old building sited about one mile to the north east of Tudhoe Mill Wood. It has been suggested that General Monck, marching from Coldstream through Durham to London may have established the headquarters here of the regiment known today as the Coldstream Guards. Certainly the house would have been the nearest dwelling on the west to Sunderland Bridge over which his line of march lay. North Farm, which was a very old farm was also owned by the Salvin family.

As previously mentioned the oak bark from the Salvin estates was taken to the tanneries. The leather produced here was used by the shoemakers of Tudhoe. In 1851 the population of Tudhoe was 400, of these, six were shoemakers. This number seems remarkably large for such a small village. However, the shoemakers found a ready market for their products in the nearby towns of Spennymoor and Durham.

To contemporary visitors from the south of England at the beginning of the nineteenth century, County Durham was a 'backward area' whose inhabitants were closer to barbarism than their southern compatriots. However,

there was one area of modernity - the coal industry. The Durham coalfield has long made an outstanding contribution to the national economy. Durham became prominent at an early stage owing to the presence of coal reserves in shallow seams in the west of the country. It is uncertain when coal was first worked in the locality of Tudhoe but there is evidence to suggest that as early as 1354 there were pits in the neighbourhood of Ferryhill. It was probably worked at Whitworth and Tudhoe at the same period because the coal at this point was very near to the surface and the ancient shafts do not appear to go further than the first seam. The proximity to the high quality coking coals of west Durham and the local iron ore deposits made the region suitable for the production of pig-iron. By the year 1850 there were already thirty-eight blast furnaces in existence in Northumberland and Durham.[14]

In the nineteenth century Tudhoe was a centre for both the coal and iron industries under the auspices of the Weardale Iron and Coal Company. This company which came to Tudhoe in 1853, was founded by Charles Attwood with the financial backing of the Baring Brothers of Bishopgate Street in London. Attwood discovered a furnace which had been built in Stanhope to smelt a substance called 'rider-ore', an iron ore commonly found with the lead ore and thrown out by the leadminers, to whom it gave much trouble. Attwood, with the help of the Baring Brothers set to work to secure the mining of all the land in Wolsingham and Stanhope. His next step was to erect a blast furnace at Tow Law. By 1845 he had built five furnaces and bought up and leased mines of ironstone and coal in the neighbourhood of Tow Law wherever he succeeded in obtaining them. In 1853 he decided to launch out still further and so he

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14. P. J. Bowden and A. A. Gibb, "Economic Development in the Twentieth Century" in Durham County and City with Teesside, ed. J. C. Dewdney, Durham, 1970, p. 269.

established the Tudhoe Ironworks to deal with the pig iron which was being manufactured at Tow Law. At first two forges and two mills were sufficient but demand soon outstripped supply and three years later it became necessary to erect two additional forges.

One of Charles Attwood's friends was Henry Bessemer, who had discovered a process by which iron could be converted into steel at almost nominal expense compared with the great cost of the processes in use up to that time. At first his experiments were a failure, but after three years of constant perseverance and an expenditure of more than £10,000, he succeeded in bringing his processes very near to perfection.[15] Some of the earliest steel ingots turned out at Bessemer's works in Sheffield were sent to Tudhoe to be rolled. In 1861 Attwood erected, under the direct supervision of Bessemer, a small plant consisting of four fifty hundredweight convectors, arranged upon the four points of a revolving cross-shape frame, complete with blowing engines, hydraulic cranes, furnaces and cupolas. The very first ingots made at Tudhoe by the new process were rolled into rails to be laid across the High Level Bridge at Newcastle. The Bessemer process was superseded by the Siemens-Martin process, but the pear-shaped convectors were left standing for many years.

In spite of the growing popularity of steel the Weardale Iron and Coal Company continued nevertheless to send large quantities of iron to the market, so that in 1880, whilst there were 2,000 tons of steel produced at the Tudhoe works, there were still 17,000 tons of iron being produced.[16] This was all changed by the Siemens-Martin process and by the 1890s the Ironworks were

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15. J.J. Dodd, The History of Spennymoor, Darlington, 1897, p.126.

16. Ibid., p.127.

producing at least 50,000 tons of steel each year. However, by this time the existing machinery at the Ironworks was becoming obsolete. Ironworks in other areas, newly equipped with the latest labour-saving devices, were taking away orders. The general manager, Henry Hollis who came in 1890 was quick to grasp the situation. He immediately began an entire renovation of the machinery of the works. In 1892 the Cogging Mill was the first step in this renovation, and four years later roads were diverted to allow the Company to take in more land for expansion. This expansion was to include a rolling mill capable of rolling plate thirteen feet wide.

In 1899 a complete change took place in the history of the ironworks. Up to this date the company had consisted practically of the Baring family, but in October 1899 the private company became a limited liability company with nine directors, of whom Sir Christopher Furness was chairman. This company acquired the whole undertaking of the Weardale Iron and Coal Company - works, collieries, ironstone mines, farms, houses and railways. The reputed price was £750,000.[17] Inclusive of their coal and coke works the company was paying £1,000 per day in wages at that time.[18]

During boom periods it is impossible to imagine that they will ever end, but they did. In late October 1901 the area was stunned by the announcement that the ironworks were to close and fifteen hundred men and boys were to be thrown out of work. The Ironworks had found it impossible to compete with America and Germany. The decision to close had been guided by the fact that the Tudhoe works were not only out of date compared with rival works (in spite of the extensive modernization less than ten years before), but also, their

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17. Durham County Advertizer, 1 November, 1901.

18. W. Page (ed), The Victoria History of the Counties of England, A History of County Durham, Vol. II, reprinted from the original edition of 1907, p. 292.

position, so far from the seaboard and off the main line greatly increased manufacturing costs.

As on occasions such as this rumours were rife. The Durham County Advertizer reported that a 'reliable source' had ascertained that the great rolling mills from Tudhoe would be transferred to Middlesbrough to the Cargo Fleet Works. However, this rumour proved to be untrue and the directors said that it was news to them that there had ever been any intention of removing Tudhoe works to Cargo Fleet.[19] The two large blast furnaces, which employed nearly 200 men were kept working for another month, but these eventually closed at the end of the year.[20]

It is easy to imagine the distress caused by this closure. A relief fund was set up. One local councillor, Thompson Raine, of Low Spennymoor organized breakfast to be served to the children of those workmen thrown out of employment by the closure of the ironworks.[21]

The advent of the railways greatly increased the distribution of economic activity in County Durham. Prior to this the location of the Durham coalfield was an important factor in its early development because the coal could be taken down the convenient rivers and transported by sea to London. By 1826 more than 1.75 million tons of coal was being exported by this region to the capital.[22] As the demand for Durham coal increased, new pits were sunk further away from the rivers and the coast. This resulted in the growth of wagon ways to carry coal to the sea-going ships. Railways were at one and the same time consumers and transporters of coal. They could take coal to almost

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19. Durham County Advertizer, 3 January 1902.

20. Ibid., 3 January 1902.

21. Ibid., 27 December 1901.

22. N. McCord, North East England, The Region's Development, 1760-1960, 1979, p. 36.

wherever men wanted. As early as the late 1820s such men as John Biddle and the Marquis of Londonderry saw that the possibilities of the railways were almost unlimited.

During the 1820s and 1830s there was a ruthless scramble to open up the Durham coalfield. This scramble can be compared to the later goldrushes even though the participants were not rough diggers but were in many cases titled lords. During these two decades the county was criss-crossed by a maze of railway lines transporting coal mined from many of the new collieries which were being sunk. At the same time more powerful pumping machinery and the safety lamp gave new life at greater depths to many of the existing collieries. These 'best practice' techniques were found mainly in the Northumberland and Durham coalfield. The rest of the century was spent largely in refining these techniques and in the attempts of other coalfields to catch up with the relatively advanced technology known and used in the north.[23] Because of this advanced technology the Durham coalfield was suffering from the 'malaise' of over-production and rapid expansion during the middle of the last century. A solution was provided when there was a great expansion in the iron and steel and shipbuilding industries. These provided a market for the coal.

The Weardale Iron and Coal Company sank three pits in the Tudhoe area. These were Tudhoe, East, Success and West, sunk in 1866, Tudhoe and Croxdale (Black Horse) also sunk in 1866 and Tudhoe Grange sunk in 1869. The company began to sink the latter colliery on 5 May 1869, and finished the sinking operations on 9 September 1870.

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23. N. K. Buxton, "The Coal Industry" in Where Did We Go Wrong? Ed. G. Roderick and M. Stephens, Lewes. 1981, p. 85.

At about the same time the Durham Miners' Association was formed to fight against the practice of the 'Bond' and low rates of pay. Three years later the coal owners established their own association. These two associations brought into being a Joint Committee which was responsible for decisions on matters of operating detail in pits, which were intended as a working basis for the county as a whole. Basic conditions for the payment and working conditions of miners were agreed in accordance with the movement of a sliding scale which linked the rate of pay per shift for the coal hewer to the average realized price of a ton of Durham coal on the market. However, conditions could vary enormously between one pit and another and even within the working conditions of a particular pit. There could be, dependent on the type of coal, considerable differences in the earning power of the coal hewer per shift according to the physical conditions in which his work had to be done. To counteract this discrepancy the Durham Miners' Association found an answer in the sliding scale arrangement. At periodic intervals the Durham Coal Owners and the Durham Miners' Association took cases to the Joint Committee to resolve rates of pay at Tudhoe Colliery.

Coal mining communities are by tradition close-knit, the people share each other's joys and sorrows. In the early hours of the morning of Tuesday, 18 April 1882, the area was rocked by an explosion at the colliery. From all parts of the district people streamed towards Tudhoe, "the roads being crowded even before the grey dawn had brightened the sky, and by sunrise the colliery buildings were closely invested by a veritable multitude."[24] So many gathered around the mouth of the east pit, where the explosion had taken place, that extra police were drafted in and barriers were set up to keep the people at a distance. When

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24. Newcastle Daily Chronicle, 19 April 1882.

the full extent of the tragedy became known thirty-seven men and boys lost their lives.

William Johnson, the colliery manager, was the first to descend the shaft along with several others, but the cage stuck fast some distance from the bottom. Several men slid down the guide ropes. One of these did not return, he was overcome by the after-damp. The guide ropes in the shaft were soon repaired and the task of rescue began. The first miner to be rescued had a broken arm and a broken leg. Two more were rescued only to die a few days later in severe pain. One family lost a father and two sons. Nearly all the burials took place in Holy Innocent Churchyard.

The cause of the explosion was never quite known but it was generally supposed that it was due to a shot that was fired, or that it occurred because a number of men and boys had open or naked lights. Afterwards, when the pit was re-started, naked lights were prohibited. The following year, 1883, a memorial cross was erected in the centre of the village by the workmen.

Ten years after this tragedy the miners of the county embarked on what can only be described as a senseless strike. A strike is always a national disaster inasmuch as it drives away trade which seldom returns, but the miners of Durham entered into this particular strike without the least preparation for it, with the result that they were starved into submission after thirteen weeks of suffering. Every industry was paralysed. The managers of the Tudhoe Ironworks had accumulated a vast store of coal for their blast furnaces, and for several weeks they were able to work whilst everywhere else in the county the blast furnaces were being damped down. At last, however, their store of coal was exhausted. It is remarkable that throughout the duration of the strike there was no disorder in the village, in fact, it was so quiet that constables were actually

drafted away from the district to areas where their services were urgently needed. Perhaps the reason for this was the fact that the Vicar of St. Andrew's provided entertainment in the Institute at Tudhoe Grange. An impromptu programme was performed. Dramatic and minstrel entertainment was performed by groups of amateurs. Each Sunday lantern slides were shown and lectures were given by clergymen and laymen of various denominations. The strike was eventually ended at the instigation of the Bishop of Durham. He was instrumental in bringing the two sides together to discuss the terms of a possible wage settlement.

As previously stated the nineteenth century saw a dramatic transformation of the region's landscape. Coalmining and heavy industry became the dominant features in the economy and also the main determinants of population distribution. Throughout the last century the population of the country as a whole increased dramatically and Tudhoe mirrored this trend.

Until the opening of the iron works the population of Tudhoe had increased at such a rate as could be accounted for by natural increase. However, between 1851 and 1861, during which time the ironworks were opened, the population of Tudhoe increased from 400 to 1,359. During this time there had been an influx of ironworkers from Staffordshire and Shropshire. These people had to be housed. The company built many houses for its workers mainly in the Mount Pleasant region of the parish. By 1871 the population of the parish had made yet another dramatic increase from 1,359 in 1861 to 5,007. In 1866 and 1869 the three collieries had been sunk at Tudhoe and this increase can be accounted for by an influx of miners. Dewdney suggests that the great majority of these migrants came notably from Ireland, Yorkshire and Scotland.[25]

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25. J. C. Dewdney, "Growth, Distribution and Structure", in Durham County and City with Teesside, Ed. J. C. Dewdney, Durham, 1970, p. 356.

Whilst this may be true for the rest of the county it is not borne out for Tudhoe. Although some had come from these areas more had come from the Midlands. The great majority of the new population had come from within the county itself. They were making the eastward trek from those mines already exhausted in the west of the county.

It is generally understood that the pivotal point in the history of Irish immigration into England was the horrific potato famine of 1845-9. The origins, however, date back much earlier to the closing years of the eighteenth century with the onset of the Industrial Revolution and the resultant demand for cheap industrial labour. By 1841 there were nearly 300,000 Irish-born residents in England and Wales representing about 1.9 per cent of the total population.[26] Of these only 5,407 had made the journey to County Durham.[27] The potato famine greatly accelerated a process that was already in operation. By 1853 nearly 30,000 Irish had arrived in the north-east, most of them coming to County Durham.[28] By a fortunate coincidence, at the same time as the Irish economic conditions were favouring immigration, the English economy was only too anxious to receive the immigrants. Unskilled labour was required in great quantity for the construction of roads, docks, railways and industrial plants. The English were only too delighted to hand this work over to their Irish neighbours. Ships returning to this country from Ireland were quite prepared to transport the victims of the famine to this country, they acted as a convenient form of ballast.

A sizeable rural Catholic population was to be found in Northumberland and Durham. Nearly all the isolated pockets of rural Catholicism were directly

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26. J. D. Gay, The Geography of Religion in England, 1971, p. 89.

27. J. M. Tweedy, Popish Elvet, Darlington, 1981, p. 132.

28. Ibid., p. 132.

dependent on the Catholic hereditary estates (e.g. Minsteracres, Felton, Hesleyside and Croxdale) for their existence.

The Irish were rather slow coming to Tudhoe. When the census was taken in 1851, none of the respondents were from Ireland. However, twenty years later, 220 or 4.8 per cent of the population replied that they had been born in Ireland.

Hughes makes an interesting point when he states,

> Throughout this period of extraordinary expansion Durham remained among the counties with the lowest number of immigrants in her population. The traditional skills of shipbuilder as well as the virtues of strength and temperament of the pitman were transmitted to families large even by Victorian standards.[29]

In 1871 almost half of the population had migrated into Tudhoe from various parts of the county.

As can be expected in a predominantly mining community the lack of female employment encouraged early marriages. In 1871 twenty-five marriage services were conducted in Holy Innocents Church. Thirteen of the brides were under the age of twenty-one years. Of the female population who were in employment, more than half were engaged in domestic duties as servants and housekeepers. The majority of the remainder worked as dressmakers; there were more than thirty dressmakers in the parish.

The miners and labourers reached their peak earnings early. As a result early marriages were the norm. Because of this the years of childbearing were long, consequently there was a high incidence of births. In 1871 there were 149 baptisms in Holy Innocents Church; however, this was more than counterbalanced by 164 burial services. The fact that 117 of these services

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29. W.M. Hughes, "Economic Development in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries" in Durham County and City with Teesside, ed. J.C. Dewdney, Durham, 1970, p.233.

were for children under the age of five years demonstrates the struggle for survival which took place thanks to inadequate diet and poor hygiene. This trend of infant mortality continued for many more years. Generally, in mining communities, half of the total deaths occurred within the age range 0 to 5 years, a high proportion in the age group 5 to 15 years, with the remainder spread unevenly over the older age groups.[30]

The population of Tudhoe was essentially a young one. The greater proportion were children under the age of thirteen years. The next peak was the child bearing age between twenty-one and forty. There was a very small proportion over the age of fifty. These were those people who had been born in Tudhoe. Only one of these persons over fifty considered himself to be retired. The rest continued in their employment presumably until they died. An interesting feature of the population of Tudhoe is that the male population was always greater than the female.

After the peak decade of 1861-1871 this increase in population steadily declined and levelled off. After this period much of the industry other than mining tended to concentrate on the estuaries of the Rivers Tyne, Wear and Tees. It would appear from the census returns of the late nineteenth century that the population of Tudhoe began to decline. By the 1880s the intensively worked Durham coalfield had passed its peak. After this time many families left the area. They left at such a rate that Tudhoe Colliery Mixed School, which had been built to accommodate 700 pupils, had an average attendance of only 350 in 1890 and by 1894 this average had dropped still further to 300.

The medical welfare of the people of Tudhoe was looked after by John O'Hanlon. Dr. O'Hanlon lived in the area for many years. In 1873 it became

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30. N. McCord, North East England, The Region's Development, 1760-1960, 1979, p.161.

legal for every district council to employ a medical officer of health. This appointment was to be an annual one. John O'Hanlon applied for the post and to his annoyance was defeated by four votes to two. The successful applicant was Dr. Heffernan, who had at one time had the infamous Mary Ann Cotton as his housekeeper. Dr. O'Hanlon was determined that the position should be his. He applied for the post each year, only to be met with defeat. Finally in 1876 Dr. Heffernan declared that he would not be available for re-election as he was leaving the district. John O'Hanlon seized his opportunity. On this occasion he was appointed to the position for which he was paid an annual salary of £25.[31] He was still in office when he died in 1896. According to the local historian, James Dodd, who was in all probability a friend of Dr. O'Hanlon, John O'Hanlon was an extremely skilled surgeon and had he been more ambitious and lived in London instead of Tudhoe he might have become one of the finest physicians in the country. Perhaps this is an exaggeration on the part of Dodd because on several occasions Dr. O'Hanlon reported that there were no cases of infectious diseases in the area whilst the school log books recorded epidemics of measles which were so severe that the schools were forced to close.

The most striking revolution in transport during the first half of the nineteenth century was the coming of the railway. The North-East played a crucial role in the pioneering of the new system. In the early nineteenth century land transport facilities were such that a ton of coal which fetched four shillings at a colliery near Bishop Auckland cost eight shillings when carted to Darlington and twelve shillings at Stockton. Joseph Peace calculated that if moved by rail the price of this coal would be reduced by nearly half at Darlington and by more than half at Stockton.[32]

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31. Spennymoor Urban District Council Minutes, 13 July 1876.

32. N. McCord, North East England, The Region's Development, 1760-1960, 1979, p. 53.

By 1850 the region was served by a network of railways, even if the system was far from complete. A process of amalgamation and rationalization soon began, with an early culmination in the creation in 1854 of the North East Railway which was to be one of the best managed and most profitable of all British railways for the remainder of the century.

Although there was plenty of goods traffic on the railway through Tudhoe, passengers had to make the short journey into Spennymoor if they wanted to travel by train. The first railway station was built in 1855. This was a small affair consisting of a single room. In 1876 a much larger station was built; however, it was not until 1885 that the line to Bishop Auckland was opened. Until that time the only way to Bishop Auckland was by road.

It is a popular misconception that the life of the working class in the nineteenth century consisted of very little more than work. This was not so. Day excursions by rail were very cheap and the people of Tudhoe were quick to take advantage of these. The station master, James Watson, persuaded the Railway Company to provide these excursions. When the first excursion train pulled out of Spennymoor station it carried 700 passengers destined for Scarborough.[33]

Much of the leisure activity of a mining community was dominated by insecurity, which stemmed in part from the dangers of death, disablement or injury in the work of a miner. The leisure pursuits tended to be vigorous and concentrated on enjoying oneself in the present. Earnings tended to be spent on leisure pursuits rather than the purchase of consumer goods.

The ironworker and the miner were not known for their temperance. They enjoyed spending their money on intoxicating liquor. The public house,

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33. J.J. Dodd, The History of Spennymoor, Darlington, 1897, p.166.

a male preserve, was the meeting place for the village. In the village of Tudhoe there were seven public houses. The names of these echoed the area, e.g. 'The Salvin Arms', 'The Puddlers' Arms'. There were also two ale and spirit merchants. A brewery had been built in 1864 by George Ogleby. The water for the brewing was taken from a spring in the dene behind Wood Vue, but after the village began to grow the water was so polluted that the wells were condemned by the local authority and had to be closed with large barrel tops. The brewery was forced to close down for several years. However, Patrick Junor, who had a brewery in Durham, believed the brewery had potential. In 1886 he bought the property and made it a going concern. He was successful for several years but unfortunately, he too, was forced to sell out to the North Eastern Breweries Company who used the building for a depot.

There were certain districts in the county which were, for centuries, noted horse breeding centres. Considering this and the pitmen's love of horse racing and betting it is surprising to learn that legitimate race meetings have always been scarce, and no flat race meetings under Jockey Club rules have existed in the county since the abolition of Durham races in 1887.

Durham did not have the monopoly of what racing there was in the county. Races were also held at Bishop Auckland. Towards the middle of the eighteenth century Auckland races had attained considerable importance. They took place in the month of April and extended over four days, the proceedings being enlivened with cock-fighting and other amusements. However, the Auckland races gradually fell into decline. In 1862 an attempt was made to institute a race meeting under Jockey Club rules which took place in April of that year. The meeting did not take place again.

A last effort was made to revive racing in the Auckland neighbourhood

a few years later in the early 1870s. A race course was laid out near Spennymoor on the estate of Mr. Duncombe-Shafto of Whitworth, a well-known figure on the turf. Meetings were held under the Jockey Club rules. However, the business was badly managed and the Whitworth Race Course Company came to an untimely end during the depression of the 1880s.

Whilst the wealthy made their name breeding horses, the working class became famous for breeding greyhounds. For thirty years, from 1870 to the close of the century Jack Thompson was renowned as an owner and breeder of racing greyhounds. His racing successes were followed with gusto by the people of Tudhoe and the surrounding district.

It was probable that there was a period when few Durham squires of any position were without their pack of hounds, the earliest mention of hare-hunting was in 1766. The Durham Beagles were originally a private pack of Marmaduke Salvin who gave them up about 1850 when they were sold to a committee of undergraduates of Durham University, and became 'University College Beagles'. The pack consisted of about fifteen couples of pure-bred beagles.[34]

Fishing has always been a popular pastime with all classes, the upper classes for sport, the lower classes out of necessity for food. The River Wear was once famous for salmon fishing. However, after the coming of the Industrial Revolution it could safely be assumed that from Bishop Auckland to Sunderland every influent of the Wear was contaminated by industrial waste. The stench from this waste was so bad that Merrington Bek at Spennymoor was discovered by the nose before it was apparent to the eye.

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34. W. Page (ed.) The Victoria History of the Counties of England, A History of County Durham, Vol. II, reprinted from the original edition of 1907, p. 402.

Before the arrival of the Weardale Iron and Coal Company, Tudhoe was primarily an agricultural area. In 1851 the 'Tudhoe and District Agricultural Society' was formed. Its objectives were to hold meetings for competitions in ploughing, hedge-cutting and draining at which prizes were awarded to successful competitors; to give premiums for the best managed farms, to agricultural labourers for bringing up their families without parochial relief, and to those servants who remained longest in their situations.

It also held shows of horses, cattle, sheep, pigs, poultry, farm produce, eggs, butter, farm implements, including reaping machines. Prizes were awarded likewise. Monthly meetings were held in the committee rooms at Tudhoe when subjects related to agriculture were discussed. After the arrival of heavy industry in the area this society declined, although it did not disappear. Several of the newcomers enjoyed gardening. It was both pleasurable and profitable. The 'Tudhoe Floral and Horticultural Society' was formed. They too held monthly meetings and an annual show at which prizes were awarded. This flower show was reported to be the oldest in the county. For the first two years it was held at Croxdale in conjunction with the district around Sunderland Bridge. The flower show was one of the annual events of the District.

For the athletic members of the community a rugby football club was formed. The club owed much to the zeal of Patrick Junor. This player, an old Glasgow Academical had lived in the county since the 1870s. He helped to found many clubs including Houghton and Tudhoe.[35] The latter club became renowned in the early 1890s when James Worfolk played for them.

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35. W. Page (ed), The Victoria History of the Counties of England, A History of County Durham, Vol. II, reprinted from the original edition of 1907, p. 428.

The club succeeded in carrying off the Durham Cup on several occasions.

Those workers who thought they were of a military bearing could make the short journey to Spennymoor and enlist in the Volunteers. The company of volunteers had originally been created by Dr. Hawks but had petered out only to be revived again by an old military sergeant. The response to this revival was immediate, and no less than 100 men gave in their names for enrolment. The usual government red tape succeeded in strangling the project. Nothing was done for several years until the ubiquitous Patrick Junor arrived in the village. In 1886, mainly with his assistance, a new company was formed. It flourished to such an extent that at one time they contemplated building a drill hall and officers' club on a site close to the brewery.

As the community grew their spiritual welfare needed to be looked after. Until 1866 the Anglicans either attended the Church of St. Paul in Spennymoor which had been built in 1857, or they went to church in the parish of Brancepeth. However, in 1866 Tudhoe was severed from the Brancepeth parish and the new parish of Tudhoe was carved out of the parishes of Brancepeth, Merrington and Ferryhill. The Church of Holy Innocents was built in the same year. The original cost was £1,788 but extensive alterations and improvements were subsequently made at a further cost of £1,000. The church can hold a congregation of 413. Architecturally it is very poor, its saving grace is its fine wooden roof. As the population of Tudhoe increased the church became too small. To alleviate congestion a chapel of ease was built in Tudhoe Village. This iron building, capable of holding 313 people was built at a cost of £610. The vicarage was built in Tudhoe Village.

In 1884 the district of Tudhoe Grange was created into a separate

ecclesiastical parish. This was effected at the instance of Bishop Lightfoot. He selected a vicar for the new parish, Enos Fenton, a mission preacher. Services were held in a room in Tudhoe Grange. The newly appointed incumbent set about the task of raising money for his church, he did this with such persistence that within a very few months of his arrival in the parish he invited the bishop to lay the foundation stone of the church which became St. Andrew's, Tudhoe Grange. The site was given by the Weardale Iron and Coal Company and most of the cost was raised by subscription. The church was built very near to the ironworks and whilst these were in existence the church was surrounded by chimneys and furnaces. The church was built in the Early English style and the chancel was separated from the nave by a carved oak screen. In 1891 the church was enlarged and four years later, in 1895, a vestry and side chapel were added, the latter being a gift in memory of the late Thomas Baring, one of the principal shareholders in the Weardale Company. The new chapel contained an altar which had come from an old Italian church. For many years it lay in pieces in the grounds of the ironworks. Originally it was thought impossible to repair but the services of a sculptor were engaged and he skilfully pieced it together. The next undertaking of the vicar was to have a vicarage built. He accomplished this task in 1888. The Ecclesiastical Commissioners bore the cost of this. Then followed a large Mission Hall and Institute, costing more than £1,500 and built on land once again donated by the Weardale Company. A gymnasium was added, but unfortunately, for some reason or other this was the least successful of the vicar's undertakings.

As previously mentioned, there was a sizeable Catholic community in Tudhoe. Mass was celebrated regularly at Croxdale because even in the days when the squire had always conformed externally when pressure was on, his

wife would still have welcomed at least a travelling priest. In the late seventeenth century there was a substantial community of seventy-one convicted recusants in the adjacent villages of Croxdale, Sunderland Bridge, Tudhoe and Hett, which were all within a radius of about one mile.[36] There certainly could not have been a resident priest at each chapel. He was usually living with the Salvin family at Croxdale. At the latter end of 1750 John Dunn, a native of Tudhoe came to the Mission at Croxdale. He had previously taught philosophy and theology at Douai. He stayed in Croxdale for two or three years before moving to a mission in Yorkshire.[37] The priest of Croxdale lived with the Salvins until 1832 when he moved into a separate house.

The Salvin family provided for the Catholic population in the locality. They sold the Orphanage in Tudhoe Village to the diocese and used the proceeds towards the erection, on a site given by them, of the church of St. Charles. The church was designed as a combination of Early English and decorated styles. It was built at a cost of more than £5,000. The altar was imported from Munich. The incumbent was Provost Joseph Watson. He had been priest at Minsteracres, the Catholic estate on the Durham-Northumberland border, owned by the Silvertop family.

Methodism was a great influence in the early days of mining in the nineteenth century. The chapel gave these communities their first music, their first literature and philosophy to meet the harsh and cruel impact of a crude materialistic age.

The Nonconformists had been able to worship in Tudhoe from October,

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36. J. M. Tweedy, Popish Elvet, Darlington, 1981, p. 99.

37. Roman Catholic Records, Vol. 12, D/PH 115/12. D. R. O.

1842, when the Wesleyans had opened their chapel.[38] The Primitive Methodists built their first chapel in Low Spennymoor in 1867. This was capable of holding a congregation of 300. Those Methodists of the Primitive Connexion living in Tudhoe opened their chapel in Tudhoe Colliery in 1870, at a cost of £664.[39] The site and much of the stone for the building were contributed by the owners of the Weardale Iron and Coal Company. Although the chapel was built to accommodate a congregation of 400 it was found necessary to enlarge the chapel ten years later at a cost of £200. The Weardale Iron and Coal Company also gave a site to the Wesleyans for a chapel to seat 350 and built at a cost of £500.

As the population of the district increased the chapels of the Nonconformists became crowded, so much so that one denomination after another removed to more spacious surroundings. In 1874 the Wesleyans built both a chapel and day schools at Low Spennymoor at a cost of £5,000 on a site once again donated by the Weardale Iron and Coal Company. In 1876 they sold their chapel in Church Street to the Baptists for £450 and erected a new place of worship at the corner of Bishop's Close Row. The total cost of this venture was £3,500.

The United Methodists worshipped in an iron chapel in Duke Street. The Welsh community had chapels in Clarence Street and at Low Spennymoor. The Methodist New Connexion worshipped in a small chapel in Oxford Street. The Christian Mission also had their place of worship in the same street. The Primitive Methodists left their old chapel in George Street for much larger premises in Rosa Street. In the latter half of the 1880s the Primitive

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38. Methodist Records, M/SF 163. D.R.O.

39. Ibid., M/SF 12. D.R.O.

Methodists were concerned at the large numbers of their members who for one reason or another were leaving them and joining the Christian Lay Church which had recently become established in the area.[40] The Salvation Army and even the Spiritualists and the Mormons had chapels in the area.

After the 1870s the rate of economic advance slackened and the expansion of industry failed to keep pace with the natural growth of population. It was after this time that people migrated from County Durham to various parts of the country and abroad. The fact that Durham was the oldest coal mining area in the country, together with the rapid exploitation which occurred in the nineteenth century meant that it was also the first coalfield to exhaust its more easily worked seams. Thus, whilst the country as a whole reached the highest point of labour productivity in the 1880s, the extensively worked Durham coalfield had by that time passed its peak. This would account for the decline in the population of Tudhoe at this time; apart from the ironworks and mining there was very little other employment in Tudhoe.

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40. Methodist Records M/SF 12. D.R.O.

CHAPTER 2

FILLING THE GAPS

From about 1780 until 1870 elementary education was provided and maintained by voluntary effort, assisted after 1833 by a progressively increasing amount of government grant.

At the end of the eighteenth century it was possible for parents to obtain a good education for their children if they were prepared to pay for it. There was a variety of private schools, ranging from expensive residential academies which prepared scholars for universities, to dame schools which aimed to do no more than look after children whilst their mothers were at work. One of these residential schools had been established by the Reverend Arthur Storey in Tudhoe in about 1788. 'Tudhoe Academy' as it was named was a boarding school for the sons of Catholic gentlemen. It was situated on the site of the later Tudhoe Orphanage. Full board and tuition cost £22 per annum. The school displayed a typical elitist curriculum with a strong classical bias, which included Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, English, French, Latin, Greek, History and Geography. Perhaps the most famous pupil was the author and naturalist, Charles Waterton, who, on leaving Tudhoe Academy went to school at Stonyhurst. Reverend Storey employed the assistance of the Reverend Joseph Shepherd. This man was a strict disciplinarian and Waterton often found himself on the receiving end of the birch rod. In retaliation he once bit the Reverend Shepherd's leg.

> In the days of Mr. Shepherd priests always wore breeches and worsted stockings, so these were no defence against the teeth of an enraged boy writhing under a correctional scourge.[1]

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1. Monthly Chronicle, October 1888, p. 450.

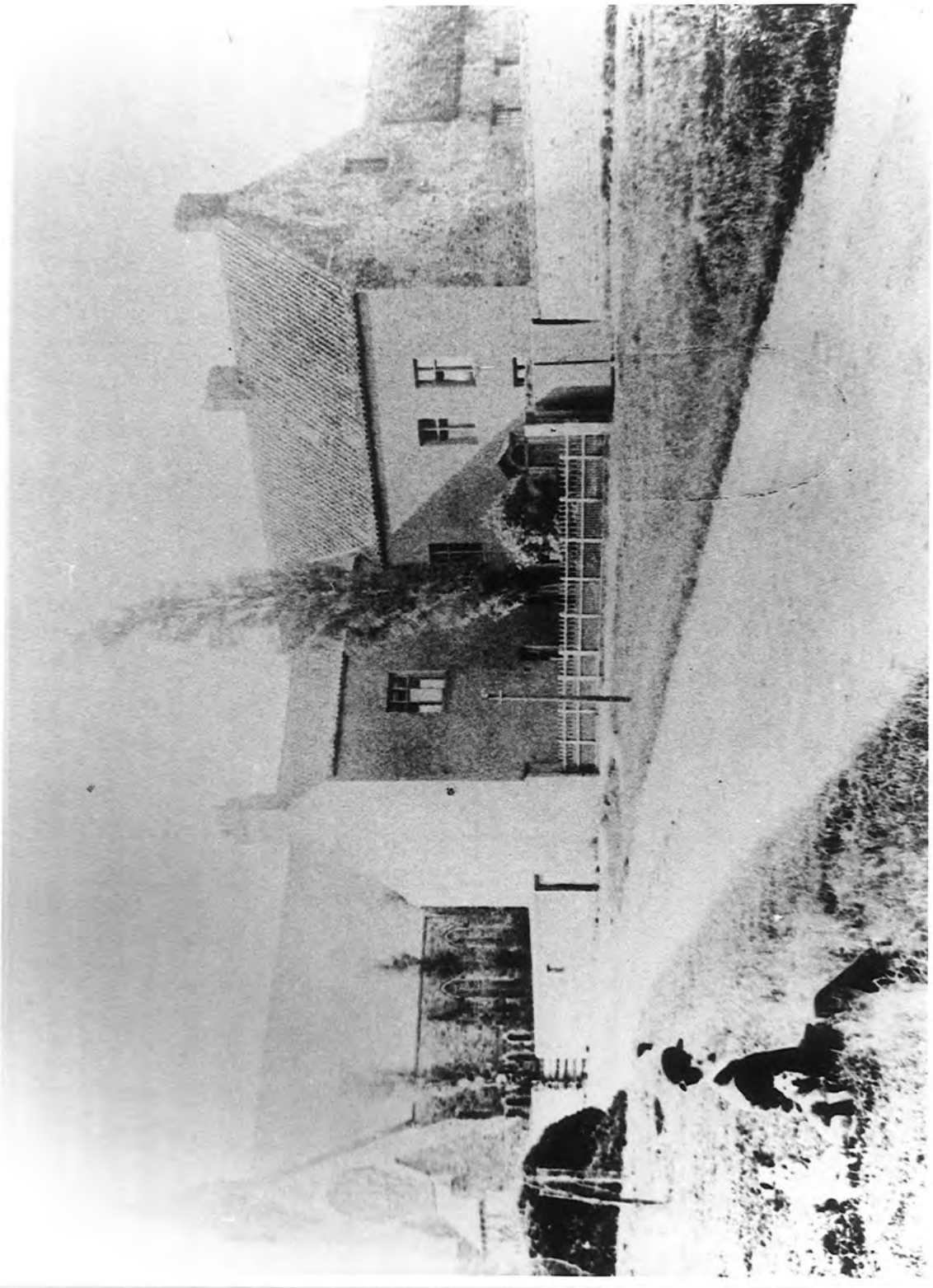

Plate 4: The building which housed 'Tudhoe Academy' 1788-1808.
It became the first 'Tudhoe Orphanage' in 1867.

The Academy was closed in 1808 after the opening of Ushaw College. The premises were then purchased by a Mr. Simpson who re-opened them as a boarding school for boys. He also opened a boarding school for young ladies at 'Tudhoe House'. Both these institutions soon ran into difficulties and they closed within a few years of their opening.

The efficiency of private schools varied in general with the fee they charged. A sound education could be had in a day school charging fees of 2s. or 3s. a week, which would fit a boy for a respectable clerical position. Schools which charged 9d. or less each week were regarded as being available to the poor, and the curriculum in these was normally confined to the three Rs, the cheapest schools being content with teaching reading. Occasionally there were excellent private schools where low fees were charged but, in general, one got what one paid for. One such school was Tudhoe Village School situated on the village green. The master of this school was an old pensioner named Wilkinson who used to get drunk at periodic intervals. Whenever he had been indulging too freely he would either give the children a half holiday, or he would scrap lessons, bring his wife into the classroom and make her dance while he played the fiddle.[2]

On his retirement, Wilkinson was succeeded by the 'famous' Jacky Lister who had completed his education at Durham Grammar School. He went as a teacher to Newfield, from there he went to Willington. From there he went to Spennymoor before finally settling in Tudhoe. He was extremely popular with his pupils and his school became renowned in the area. He was master for 30 years until his death in 1877. There were occasions when there were as many as 300 pupils crowded into the one roomed school. With

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2. J.J. Dodd, History of Spennymoor, Darlington, 1899, p. 90.

Plate 5: Jacky Lister's Tudhoe Village Day School.
Photograph taken in 1913 prior to its demolition.

so many children of varying ages in one room and under the supervision of only one teacher, it is easy to understand why discipline had to be so strict if order and learning were to prevail.

Apart from these private schools there were charity schools. The majority of these had been founded in the eighteenth century under the auspices of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. These charity schools were training poor children for a specific status in society and for specific occupations. However, they were able to make only a limited contribution to education.

From the 1780s onwards thinking about popular education was conditioned both by the evolution of new social ideals and by response to the problems of social change. In this situation new educational ideas and efforts to establish schools came from a variety of sources: the political radicalism of the 1790s; traditions of philanthropy; the utilitarianism associated with Jeremy Benthan and the laissez-faire economists; the evangelical movement in the Church of England and the educational radicalism connected with the ideas of Rousseau. This reliance on the principle of laissez-faire prevented many children from being educated. There was a strong suspicion against government provision of school buildings.

The first attempt at providing universal elementary education was the Sunday School movement. It is associated particularly with Robert Raikes, though he did not originate it. He had the idea that schools should open on Sunday for the undisciplined and illiterate children who were employed in the local pin factories of Gloucester. The Sunday Schools were "the beginning of popular education."[3] They initiated the idea in this country of universal

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3. H. C. Barnard, A Short History of English Education, 1947, p. 11.

education applied to children of all ages and free of cost. At the same time they gave the English educational system a religious complexion. However, the Sunday Schools achieved disappointing results considering the time and money spent on them. The hours of attendance were inadequate, the curriculum was invariably confined to reading and religious instruction, and the teaching was frequently inefficient. By the early years of the nineteenth century their failure to provide a suitable education was evident. Although there was an attempt to improve their efficiency by the formation of the Sunday School Unions this was to no avail and people turned their attentions to day school provision.

The answer to the day school problem appeared to have been found by the monitorial systems of Bell and Lancaster. The essence of the method was that the teacher did no direct teaching of the children. He selected certain older pupils to act as 'monitors' and instructed them at convenient times. During normal school hours the monitors were each responsible for a small group of pupils while the teacher acted as supervisor, examiner and disciplinarian. From the earliest days the movement to establish monitorial schools was divided into two camps which may be described as representing Anglican and Nonconformist interests. The National Society was founded by the Church of England in 1811, and the Nonconformists set up the British and Foreign School Society in 1814.

Having been first in the field, the Church bodies were anxious to preserve their dominant position, consequently the progress of a state system of education was hindered by the secular-religious power struggle for the control of education. Within the religious organizations themselves there was a sharp and bitter cleavage between the Church and the Nonconformists.[4]

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4. J. Murphy, The Education Act, 1870, Newton Abbot, 1972, p.12.

This interest in Education was not confined to the Church bodies, manufacturers and landowners too, had their own economic interests to defend whenever the state attempted to bring forth new legislation requiring school attendance. Even so, in 1807 the Lord of the Manor of Benton founded a school for 40 poor children.

> All the children are to be taught to read but none are to be taught the dangerous arts of writing and arithmetic except as the Lord of the manor shall think fit.[5]

The early entrepreneurs, pioneers of the Industrial Revolution, had been untutored, lacking formal education, products of the ancient traditions of British craftsmanship, men such as Crompton, Smeaton, Bramah and Maudslay. The Industrial Revolution, it seemed, owed little to education systems or to direct action from the state. At mid-century the prevailing philosophy was that Britain owed her success to the natural characters and qualities of her entrepreneurs, to her craftsmen and engineers endowed with native ability. These, allied to daring entrepreneurship and individualism, had brought Britain to the top. What indeed was owed to education?[6]

Between 1800 and 1840 there was a significant growth of schooling. West thinks that this was due to an 'explosion' in the school population of the major towns in the 1830s.[7] During this period the National Society had been diligently building schools in the diocese of Durham. In 1812 it had four schools but by 1830 it had built 156 schools, although this figure was later amended to 197.[8] Despite this feverish activity, there were still 28 parishes in Durham which had no school.[9]

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5. E. E. Rich, The Education Act, 1870, 1970, p. 16.
6. G. W. Roderick and M. D. Stephens, "Britain, 1851-1914", Where Did We Go Wrong? ed. by G. W. Roderick and M. D. Stephens, Lewes, 1981, p. 6.
7. E. G. West, Education and the Industrial Revolution, 1975, p. 78.
8. 19th Annual Report of the National Society, 1830.
9. 21st Annual Report of the National Society, 1832.

Because of the efforts of Henry Brougham, M. P., a parliamentary committee was appointed in 1816 "to inquire into the education of the lower Orders." Its report revealed a great lack of educational facilities. This committee produced its report in 1820 and revealed that one in fourteen of the population was being educated. This was attributable mainly to the energy of the ecclesiastical groups but partly to the willingness of parents to pay fees. A survey by the Manchester Statistical Society in 1834 revealed that 80 per cent of school children's education in the city was being paid for entirely by parental fees.[10] Brougham's survey found a considerable rate of growth which was confirmed by Lord Kerry's official investigation in 1833 to 1835. Lord Kerry's Parliamentary Return of 1833 made the first attempt to calculate the proportion of eligible children actually receiving education. The ratio of children attending day schools to the total population was estimated by Kerry in 1833 to be one in eleven. Between 1818 and 1833 the number of schools had increased from 748,000 to 1,294,000 "without any intervention by Government or public authorities."[11]

However, these figures present an all too encouraging picture of the quality of education provided. In a speech at the opening of the Mechanics' Institution School building in Liverpool in 1837, Sir Thomas Wyse, M.P., commented that a large proportion of the youthful population did not attend any school whatsoever and the education given was of the worst description. The Manchester Statistical Society's survey of Liverpool children between the ages of five and fifteen in 1834 produced the following picture: 244 dame schools, 195 common day schools, 50 charity schools and 143 private and boarding schools.

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10. G. W. Roderick and M. D. Stephens, Education and Industry in the Nineteenth Century, 1978, p. 12.

11. E. G. West, Education and the Industrial Revolution, 1975, p. 77.

The first two categories provided wretched accommodation for the poorer classes. The charity schools which were supported by various denominations, also catered largely for the working classes; the private and boarding schools, on the other hand, were for the wealthier classes. Even in the private schools the quality of instruction was not high and the wealthier classes preferred to employ tutors or send their children away to select schools.

Thomas Wyse, as Chairman of the Central Society of Education set up in 1836, argued that the greatest defect of English education was the total lack of a national organisation. An earlier attempt had been made by Brougham when he introduced a Bill based on his enquiry of 1816-1820 but this did not progress very far. Pressure for state action increased during the 1820s, culminating in the petitioning of the government by widely representative groups and societies. The result was a government grant of £20,000 in 1833 earmarked for the "erections of school houses". The sum was small but it was of great importance for it represented the first intervention of the central government in the affairs of education. This grant was given to the National and the British and Foreign Schools Societies.

However, despite the vigour of both these societies, they were unable to make a large impression on the number of uneducated children. Kerry's estimate of the number of children attending day schools was altered somewhat when the worst slums were taken into consideration. Here an estimated one in thirty-five of the population attended day school; and at this time children were a larger section of the community because adults died at a comparatively early age. These figures were probably an over-estimation because names were kept on school registers after the children had gone or were duplicated on other registers when families moved.[12] The National Society was

12. E.E. Rich, The Education Act, 1870, 1970, p.16.

constantly urging the coal owners and lessees to provide schools in the colliery districts of Durham.[13]

By 1839 central government in England was giving £30,000 per annum for education. Four-fifths of the grant went to the National Society, the remaining fifth went to the British and Foreign School Society. Whatever might have been the true statistical picture of schools nationally, the growing conviction was that these societies were not meeting the growing demand for education.

Finally in 1839 a Committee of the Privy Council was set up. This committee was to consider "all matters affecting the education of the people" and "to superintend the application of any sums voted by Parliament for the purpose of promoting public education." Thus a central administrative authority for national education, the forerunner of the Department of Education and Science, was established. The first secretary of this Committee was Dr. Kay, who later became Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth. He argued that elementary education appeared far better on paper than it was in reality. Many children were taught nothing beyond elementary reading and school attendance was low. The Committee also made Government inspection a condition of all educational grants. These inspectors insisted on the achievement of certain standards before the payment of the grants. The government was directly influencing the development of elementary education.

By the mid-1840s it was generally accepted that the resources of the voluntary effort were not sufficient to provide for the educational needs of the country. In 1850 W.J. Fox introduced a Bill in Parliament which in some respects was similar to the Act of 1870. It proposed that compulsory powers

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13. 26th Annual Report of the National Society, 1837.

should be given to ratepayers to establish schools where there was a deficiency and to levy an education rate for the support of free and secular schools for children aged seven to thirteen. No provision was made for the existing denominational schools. However, the Bill was defeated when the Church and the Nonconformists united in their fear of secular education. Yet it was obvious that if a national system of popular education was to be secured,some means must be found to supplement State grants by local contributions. Several Bills with this aim were introduced but all were defeated.

The State's contribution to education had been steadily growing since 1833, and with it voluntary effort had also grown. It was not clear that the voluntary system with Government aid was proving capable of meeting national needs and of being so developed as to meet future needs. There were many parties and much conflict and dissatisfaction was general, but recognition of the importance of the education question was shown by the creation of an Education Department in 1856. It took the place of the Privy Council's Committee for Education. The Lord President of the Council was nominally its chairman, but, as he was a peer, a Vice-President was also appointed, who was a member of the House of Commons and a member of the government in power. He was thus responsible to the House for the expenditure of his Department and was in practice the head of it.

By 1858 expenditure by the state on education was so considerable that there was a demand for investigation. Lord Derby's government set up a Commission under the chairmanship of the Duke of Newcastle "to enquire into the state of Popular Education in England." The Newcastle Commission found a confusion of industrial schools, dockyard schools, factory schools, orphan and ragged schools as well as public and private day schools. These

schools were administered by a variety of organizations, principal among which were the National Society and the British and Foreign School Society. Kay-Shuttleworth gave evidence relating to Manchester schools. He stated that

> it would be scarcely possible to conceive of schools and institutions more inefficient for the purposes for which they were intended.

He also considered that they were "lamentably inadequate in numbers."[14]

The Reverend J.S. Winder, the Assistant Commissioner for Yorkshire and Lancashire found that poverty and apathy were widespread and were the cause of neglect by parents concerning the education of their children. "Education", he said, "is ordinarily looked on as a matter of secondary importance and made to give way to the convenience of interests of the moment without scruple or hesitation."[15] The Principal of Bede College, Durham, similarly reported,

> Education is of no value in gaining employment in the pit ... the pit owners want lads down the pits at an early age.[16]

The Newcastle Commission reported in 1861 and made their recommendations for "the extension of sound and cheap elementary instruction." In 1858 the education grant was £663,435, it was not unreasonable for people to ask if the money was being wisely spent. Immense sums of money had been frittered away on the Crimean War, economies had to be made and national education was a prime target for these. The Commission thought that the system of State grants was not succeeding in effecting a "general diffusion of sound elementary education amongst all classes of the poor." They did not advocate the withdrawal of the grants but they wished to secure regular

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14. Report of the Newcastle Commission, Vol. VI, p. 299.

15. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 203.

16. Report of the Newcastle Commission, Vol. II, p. 412.

attendance, sounder teaching and a wider curriculum for older pupils. The existing system was not without value, but it had serious defects. The central government was paying for benefits which were mainly local, and the most needy areas got the least help, because they could not raise from voluntary sources the necessary half-cost of buildings and maintenance. The elementary subjects were badly taught, and the whole system was getting unwieldy and difficult to manage. The Commissioners recommended a simplification. The State should pay capitation grants to schools which had a satisfactory report from Her Majesty's Inspectors. These grants should be supplemented by local grants from county and borough rates, based on the attainments of the pupils as assessed by examination by the inspector.[17] Thus was introduced the system of "payment by results" which hampered the development of English elementary education for many years to come.

Robert Lowe, who had been Vice-President of the Department of Education since 1859, had the task of putting the recommendations of the Newcastle Commission into practice. He was unwilling to accept the Commission's recommendation that education grants should be paid from the rates, but he proposed to retain the denominational character of popular education and the practice of giving grants from the central office in aid of local subscriptions. One of the chief weaknesses of the existing system was low and irregular school attendance. It had been estimated that in 1858, of 2,213,694 children at school, 38.81 per cent attended for less than a year.[18] Lowe tried to remedy this state of affairs by basing the Education Department's grants not simply on the amount raised by local voluntary effort, but on the attendance of pupils

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17. Report of the Newcastle Commission, Vol. I, pp. 544-5.

18. H. C. Barnard, A Short History of English Education, 1947, p. 130.

under a certificated teacher, and subject to the results of an examination of each child in the three Rs by an inspector. These measures were embodied in the 'Revised Code' of 1862, a document issued by the Education Department and having statutory force. In reply to the many criticisms Lowe said of the new system:

> If it is not cheap, it shall be efficient; if it is not efficient, it shall be cheap.[19]

The Revised Code did effect economies. In 1861 the education grant was £813,441; this fell to £636,806 in 1865. The immediate effect of the Code was a rise in the average attendance. In 1862 it was £888,923 and it rose to 1,048,493 in 1866. Since most children left school at about the age of 12 they only received the rudiments of an education. This was assessed under the Revised Code as the ability to read a short passage from a newspaper, to take it down from dictation, and to do arithmetic up to bills of parcel. The scheme of work for the elementary school was also graded and organized far more definitely than before. The syllabus mentioned above was for the leaving year, the sixth standard, but each of the previous five standards had also a definite course of work leading up to it. The child entered Standard I at the age of about six, at the end of the year he was examined and passed on to the next standard. If he was successful in his examination he could earn his grant, but he could not be presented more than once at the same grade. For each child there was a capitation grant, another grant of 5s. on school average attendance figures and yet a further grant of 8s. a pupil attending 200 morning or afternoon sessions. The examination system resulted in over-pressure on the children, due to anxiety to produce results. The teaching of the three Rs may have improved because teachers were tempted

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19. Hansard, Vol. 165, col. 229, 13 February 1862.

to concentrate on these grant earning subjects and neglect other work, but this encouraged mechanical methods of teaching.

Although attempts were made to tinker with the Revised Code it soon became obvious that it would never succeed in providing an adequate system of popular education. However there were still many children who never attended school. The passing of the Second Reform Bill in 1867 greatly extended the franchise. The educational ferment which was to produce the Education Act of 1870 can be regarded as a logical consequence of the Reform Bill. Robert Lowe's vehement speech during the third reading of the Reform Bill pointed out the bearing of that measure on national education.

> I was opposed to centralization, I am ready to accept centralization, I was opposed to an education, I am ready now to accept it... The question is no longer a religious question, it has become a political one ... You have placed the government in the hands of the masses and you must therefore give them education.[20]

Many saw the danger of extending the parliamentary franchise and giving the vote to a large number of ill-instructed or illiterate voters. The growing power of the kingdom of Prussia, commonly thought to be the best educated nation of Europe also played a part in arousing this country to its own shortcomings.

The education question quickly gathered momentum until there was an increasing conviction in the reality of educational deprivation among the masses in the rapidly expanding industrial cities. This was associated with nagging doubts about the nation's rate of progress and fears that Britain was being overhauled by her industrial competitors: France, the German states and America. The poor showing of British goods in the Paris Exhibition of 1867 was attributed in large part to the deficiencies in education.

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20. Hansard, 15 July 1867.

As Lord Morley wrote,

> the triumphant North in America was the land of the common school. The victory of the Prussians over the Austrians at Sadowa in 1866 was called the victory of the elementary school teacher.[21]

During the 1860s among the principal issues of an educational nature which attracted parliamentary attention were: the problem of ministerial responsibility for educational policy, the fragmentation of the various central authorities for education, the provision of rate aid for education, and the providing of the needs of those 11,000 or more parishes which received no assistance in the form of education grants from the Exchequer.

Attempts to deal with these issues were made with depressing frequency throughout the 1850s and 1860s, but without any tangible or satisfactory result. Then, quite suddenly, the Derby cabinet in 1867 decided to introduce legislation that, in the context of the times was little short of revolutionary.[22] The main, though by no means the only, purpose of the proposed measure was to unify the central authority for English Education, to enhance its status and to assign to it a more constructive role. In choosing this aspect of educational reform as its priority for treatment, the Tory government showed realism as well as prudence. A good case could be made for claiming that just then the central administration of education was in more urgent need of improvement than was the local and such a proposition certainly appeared to present fewer difficulties so far as its passage through Parliament was concerned.

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21. F. Smith, A History of English Elementary Education, 1760-1902, 1931, p. 282.

22. A. Bishop and W. Jones, "The act that never was, the Conservative Education Bill of 1868", History of Education, Vol. I, No. 2, June, 1972, p. 161.

However, the Bill was destined never to become law. It was withdrawn owing to a change in the political fortunes of the government. In the autumn of 1868, Disraeli, the new Prime Minister, went to the country confidently expecting to be returned by the newly-enfranchised artisans. However, they showed their independence and brought back the Liberals. Bishop and Jones suggest that this alone need not have doomed the Bill.[23] What really proved fatal was the fact that both parties had new leaders, the Conservatives being led by Disraeli and the Liberals by Gladstone.

As the education question became the leading issue of the day two great 'interest groups' were at work to influence educational legislation. The first to enter the field was the National Education League with George Dixon as its President and Birmingham as it headquarters. Almost immediately the National Education Union was formed with the specific intention of opposing the Leaque. Its headquarters were in Manchester and it had a long list of influential vice-presidents. Although the two factions were opponents, they were agreed in end and object, i.e.

> The establishment of a system which shall secure the education of every child in the country.

The National Education Leaque wanted free, unsectarian and compulsory education supported by local rates, supplemented by government grants. The management of the schools would be under the control of local boards elected by the rate payers.

Meanwhile the National Education Union wanted to amend, extend or supplement the denominational system. It admitted that in poor and destitute areas an educational rate might be necessary. It was also in favour of

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23. A. Bishop and W. Jones, "The act that never was, the Conservative Education Bill of 1868", History of Education, Vol. I, No. 2, June, 1972, p. 171.

compulsion but would apply it indirectly.

At this time the advanced sections of the working class, the trade unionists and skilled artisans and their representatives, took a deep interest. One of these trade unionists was Robert Applegarth, general secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners. This trade union was active in educational pressure groups, principally the National Education League from 1868. They campaigned for an education act which provided free and compulsory education. "There is little wonder", said Applegarth, "that the working class should desire to give compulsion a trial when they know how utterly the voluntary system has failed to provide themselves with the advantage of an education."[24] A.J. Mundella also considered compulsory attendance as essential. In America there were plenty of schools but the levels of attendance varied considerably. Where the authorities did not insist on compulsory attendance, education reached only 50 per cent of its possible target.

Before the end of 1869 Applegarth's union was urging the government to bring out an educational bill which, it pointed out, was needed not only to secure the industrial position of the nation but also for moral and social improvement. Applegarth believed in the need to educate the British artisans to compete with foreign competitors in the world market. However, his main arguments on the need for more education had a social orientation. Because ignorance, crime and poverty were so intimately connected (only 5 per cent of criminals could read and paupers were "utterly void of learning") improved education would materially reduce the £10 million annually paid out of taxes for the purpose of punishing crime and perpetuating pauperism.

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24. Quoted in J. Lawson and H. Silver, A Social History of Education in England, 1973, p. 294.

As the decade came to a close it was obvious that some provision of a comprehensive system of education was necessary. In 1870 an Education Bill was framed by W. E. Forster, Vice-President of the Education Department. Keeping in view the necessity for economy and the need to avoid injuring any existing voluntary schools, Forster proposed to build schools in areas where educational provision was found to be inadequate. Where the voluntary system left gaps, school boards were to be set up to fill them and to act as local authorities responsible for the educational provision of their 'school districts'. Their function was to establish and maintain board schools where necessary and to levy a local rate to help meet the cost involved.

The voluntary bodies set about with great fervour to fill any gaps. . . . The National Society had built a school in Spennymoor in 1841. It was attended on average by about 100 boys and girls. In 1862 an infants' department was added. They also built another school in Low Spennymoor in 1869. This school was famous because of one pupil-teacher, F. W. Sanderson. He was a working class boy who, in 10 years rose from teaching 'standards' through a university education at Durham and Cambridge, and after a spell of coaching and part-time lecturing to women students at Girton College, was appointed as an assistant master at Dulwich College in 1885.[25] He eventually became Headmaster at Oundle.

The Nonconformists also built schools in the area. The Wesleyans had built a school in Spennymoor in 1861, at a cost of about £2,000. This proved to be inadequate for the large Nonconformist population so another Wesleyan school was built in Low Spennymoor. The Presbyterians also built a school in Mount Pleasant (Low Spennymoor) but it has been impossible

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25. R. J. Palmer, "F. W. Sanderson, Oundle and Games", Durham and Newcastle Research Review, Vol. VIII, No. 39, Autumn 1977, p. 36.

to discover the date of building.

The Roman Catholics were without a school for the sizeable Catholic population. However, the Tudhoe Orphanage for Catholic girls was instituted in 1867. The girls were accommodated in the premises of the old Tudhoe Academy under the auspices of the Sisters of the Order of the Sacred Heart. Here, 40 orphan girls from the various unions of the diocese received a strict schooling. The cost of maintenance for each girl was provided by the unions.

In that same year (1867) Provost Watson came to Tudhoe. Because of his efforts he was able to raise sufficient money to pay for the building of both a church and a school. The school opened its doors on 31 January 1873. At the time of opening Margaret McNeill was the only qualified person on the staff, but she did have the help of one assistant and four candidates. The 513 pupils in the school were split into five classes. The 150 pupils in the infants were divided into two classes. The remaining pupils were placed in Classroom No. 1, which accommodated 45, Classroom No. 2 which accommodated a further 30 pupils, and the other 288 pupils were accommodated in one large room in the Mixed Elementary Section of the school. At the time of opening, books and apparatus for carrying on school work consisted of:

Burns' Standard Reading Books (each pupil bought his own)
1 set of Reading Sheets
4 Blackboards and Easels
1 Ball-frame
1 Signal and ball
1 Chambers' Map of the World
1 Alphabet Card for Infants.[26]

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26. A. J. Coia, Tudhoe, St. Charles School, 1873-1973, Darlington, 1973, p. 4.

Although the Nonconformists had already built schools in Spennymoor and Low Spennymoor they felt that these were insufficient for their children. The Wesleyans decided to build another school in Tudhoe Colliery. Until then, there were no schools in that part of the district, which was becoming quite heavily populated. Work on the school was commenced in 1875, the land and the stone from York Hill quarry being supplied by the Weardale Iron and Coal Company, which also paid for the building carried out by a Mr. Foster of Croxdale. The school opened on 12 June 1876, with George Jameson as headmaster and his wife as headmistress for the girls. Infants paid 2d. per week, three Junior classes paid 3d. and the rest 4d. per week. Pupils had to supply their own pens, pencils, slates, lesson books, copy books and exercise books and a bag in which to carry them.

When the school opened 127 boys and 113 girls were admitted. These numbers far exceeded those expected, consequently no assistance had been provided in the shape of monitors, pupil teachers or qualified assistants. A month later Richard Jenkins from Aberdyberthy School, Swansea, was appointed as assistant master. At this time there were 391 children on the roll. For the next few months new staff was continually being appointed to cope with the children. By November, 1876, the staff consisted of:

George Jameson (Cert. Teacher, 1st grade, 2nd class)
Emily Jameson (Cert. Teacher, 1st grade, 2nd class)
Richard Jenkins (Asst., ex-pupil teacher)
Mary Peacock (Asst., ex-pupil teacher)
S. A. Jones (Asst.)
Monitors: R. H. Myers
M. A. Glendenning
E. Robinson.[27]

A few months before this school opened the Education Department decided that a school board was needed in Tudhoe to provide school accommo-

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27. Weardale Iron and Coal Co. Ltd., Tudhoe Colliery School log book, 5 November 1876.

dation for the children who had moved into the area and were unable to attend any of the existing schools for a variety of reasons; distance, no vacancies or the desire not to attend. After receiving the mandate from the Education Department, all voluntary provision in the area effectively came to an end.

It has been commonly assumed that the Industrial Revolution and the subsequent movement of people into towns had led to low literacy rates between 1825 and 1840. However, recent research by West suggests that the level of literacy was considerably higher than had originally been thought.[28] It is very likely that these unexpectedly high literacy rates during the first half of the nineteenth century owed more to Sunday schools than to public day schools. Even so there was educational destitution in the country. The figures of the official Blue Books show that only half the parishes in England and Wales had schools earning government grants. There was a lack of central authority able to coordinate effort over a wide area, the haphazard siting of the denominational schools left large areas unprovided, there was no plan to organize school provision on a district basis, added to which there was the duplication of schools by rival sects. This certainly happened in Tudhoe. In two areas of the district both the Anglicans and the Wesleyans built schools close to each other leaving other areas destitute. It is little wonder that the people had a school board thrust upon them, the gaps certainly needed filling up.

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28. E. G. West, Education and the Industrial Revolution, 1975, p. 38.

CHAPTER 3

TUDHOE'S FIRST SCHOOL BOARD 1876-1879

In 1870, an Education Bill was framed by W. E. Forster, Vice-President of the Education Department. Keeping in view the necessity for economy and the need to avoid injuring any existing efficient voluntary schools, Forster proposed to build schools in areas where educational provision was found to be inadequate. Where the voluntary system left gaps, school boards were to be set up to fill them and to act as local authorities responsible for the educational provision of their 'school districts'. Their function was to establish and maintain board schools where necessary and to levy a local rate to help meet the cost involved.

The main aim of Forster's Elementary Education Act was the provision of non-denominational schooling. The system was to be run by locally elected school boards which were the first public local authorities for education. They were the only ones to be elected by and to be directly responsible to the ratepayers. However, they were not universally established and did not have an altogether free hand in providing for elementary education.

Margaret Spence suggests that a variety of historical circumstances seem to have flowed together to make 1870 a watershed in educational affairs.[1] The voluntary societies that had provided over 8,000 schools for one and a half million children were not managing to keep abreast of the needs of a rapidly expanding population. There was growing concern over

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1. Margaret Spence, "The Pattern of School Boards in Hampshire", History of Education Society Bulletin, No. 21, Spring 1978, p. 25.

the numbers of children roaming the streets in large towns. Amongst other circumstances Spence includes the fact that the Treasury was no longer willing to pay out increasingly large sums of money to these relatively autonomous bodies. She considers that the most over-riding circumstance was that the Liberals had recently formed a new government. They had a substantial majority in Parliament which included a group of Nonconformists who were firmly committed to some system of non-denominational schooling.

Several efforts had already been made to produce a bill which was acceptable to both the Established Church and the Nonconformists, but all had foundered. Forster's bill faced similar bitter opposition and innumerable amendments had to be made, but, it was eventually passed. Forster had succeeded in obtaining a legal commitment to a national system of elementary schools and the machinery for its implementation. The machinery had to be set up, solutions had to be found to the continuing sectarian rivalry at the local level and further legislation was required to enforce compulsory attendance.

The country was divided up into 'school districts' which were the municipal boroughs or civil parishes. London was a separate 'school district'. The Education Department was given power to investigate the available school accommodation in each district and to determine how much further accommodation, if any, was necessary. If there was a deficiency, the voluntary societies were allowed a period of grace, until the end of the year 1870, in which to supply it, and they could apply for a parliamentary grant in aid of building, enlarging, improving, or fitting up an elementary school; but they were to get no help for this purpose from the rates. If

they did not, or could not, supply the deficiency the new local authority, the school board, was to be set up. There were three ways in which a school board could be established:

1. The district could ask for one, whether it was deficient in schools or not.
2. A district with enough schools could become deficient through the threatened closure of one of them.
3. A district could be really deficient in schools, and, having failed, after due notice, to supply the deficiency voluntarily, could be forced to set up a board.[2]

Soon after the 1870 Education Act had been placed on the statute book, it began to be put into operation. A year later it was calculated that over half of the largest towns (27 out of 52) in England and Wales had school boards and by 1896, almost 2,500 boards had been established. Districts with a high proportion of Nonconformists were most zealous in creating school boards. In the north east, Gateshead (28 November), Middlesbrough (29 November) and Stockton (29 November) were quickest off the mark in setting up school boards. South Shields, Darlington, Sunderland, Durham, Hedworth and Monkton and Jarrow followed suit in 1871, as did Witton-le-Wear. The latter was the first rural school board. Witton-le-Wear had a population of 2,329 and by 1873 it had opened a school for 220 children. Not all areas were as eager as these, however, and almost half of the school boards in the country had to be forced upon reluctant authorities. The rural counties were far more reluctant to form school boards. In 1871, five rural counties: Dorset; Herefordshire;

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2. Mary Sturt, The Education of the People, 1967, p. 299.

Huntingdonshire; Rutland and Shropshire had none, and there were seven counties with one each, three with two boards and nine with three boards. Four of the largest agricultural counties: Lincolnshire; Norfolk; Suffolk and Essex could boast only 16 boards between them. Peter Gordon considers the influence of the Church in rural areas as the main cause for the paucity of school boards.[3] Between 1870 and 1899, 54 school boards had been formed in Durham County; however, only 23 had been formed voluntarily. It was only after receiving a direct mandate from the Education Department that a school board was eventually elected in Tudhoe in 1876.[4]

It was laid down the school boards should cover a single parish in the countryside, which led to the formation of some very small boards comprising only five members. However, 'united districts' were occasionally permitted. Tudhoe was one of these 'united districts' which comprised the townships of Ferryhill, Merrington, Tudhoe and Whitworth.

Mary Sturt thinks that the formation of the school boards was the beginning of a social revolution in England.[5] The school board was the assertion of independence against the dominance of the squire and clergymen. The members of any school board had to be local residents directly elected by the ratepayers. As there was no property qualification for membership it meant that working men could be elected. A member could be disqualified from the board if he accepted or gained profit in connection with his official work, or if he was absent from meetings of the school board for six months. Elections were to be held every three years and any vacancies occurring

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3. P. Gordon, The Victorian School Manager, 1974, p. 114.
4. Durham County Advertiser, 4 February 1876.
5. Mary Sturt, The Education of the People, 1967, p. 313.

during the period of office of a board had to be filled by an election. These mid-term elections proved to be most unpopular and Angela Gill points out that if possible the seat was left vacant until the next triennial election.[6] These elections could prove to be very costly. Liverpool school board claimed in 1872 that the costs to the borough of supplying a casual vacancy amounted to £525 3s. 3d. in addition to the candidates' own expenses of between £500 and £600, with only a year before the next election was due.[7] Similarly the Department ordered that two vacancies were to be filled at Birmingham at a cost of £1,000 although the result would not have affected the balance of the parties.

The government responded to this dislike of mid-term elections by providing a clause in the Education Act of 1876 stating that vacancies could be filled by a board itself without having an election. This clause was designed to assist with the smooth running of a board and the educational needs of the children. By this system those members already serving on the board and who were in the majority could elect someone who was sympathetic to their cause. Should this choice prove to be unpopular with the electorate the member was not returned at the next triennial election. Durham Miners' Union made several unsuccessful attempts to have their representatives elected when a mid-term vacancy occurred in Tudhoe. However, the internal politics of the board found these candidates unacceptable and they were always turned down.

Having received the mandate from the Education Department a school board had to be formed in Tudhoe. This event generated so much excitement

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6. Angela Gill, "The Leicester School Board 1871-1903", in Brian Simon (ed), Education in Leicestershire, 1540-1940, Leicester, 1968, p.161.

7. P. Gordon, The Victorian School Manager, 1974, p.98.

that 23 candidates were nominated for the nine member board. These candidates covered the social spectrum of Tudhoe. There were miners, a grocer, several members of the clergy, the manager of the ironworks, the coal owner and the colliery manager. However two of the candidates withdrew leaving 21 to go to the polls. The two who withdrew were David Bruce, the vicar of Merrington and William Oliver, a tailor and draper from West Cornforth. The election took place on Friday, 11 February 1876. There were six booths throughout the district and "nothing could exceed the admirable arrangements made by the returning officer at each of them."[8]

The qualifications required by the voters in these elections were similar to those under the Parliamentary franchise introduced by the Reform Act of 1867. As this enfranchised a proportion of the urban artisans the working classes now began to have a voice in the control of the schools which their children attended. There was, however, one important extension of the franchise in that women were entitled to vote and stand for election. At the first election in Tudhoe the supporters of the contestants were extremely zealous in ensuring that the electors reached the poll, so much so that more than 2,000 people cast their votes. No doubt more would have done so had there been a revision of the rate book in Whitworth. Many of the ratepayers living in that parish and who had done so for periods varying from two to fifteen years were eager to use their franchise. However, they found themselves disqualified not because of any fault of theirs, for as far as they were concerned they fully complied with the requirements of the Education Act, but because their names had not been recorded in the rate book.[9]

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8. Durham County Advertiser, 18 February 1876.

9. Ibid.

The school boards became women's introduction into public life. Women were elected to school boards in various parts of the country and often played a prominent part in their work. Margaret MacMillan was an important member of the Bradford school board, whilst London school board had the services of such notable individuals as Elizabeth Garrett Anderson and Emily Davies.[10] However, not many women appear to have come forward in the north east. An example had been set in the first contested school board election at Manchester when a Miss Becker was amongst the successful candidates. In the Teesside area Stockton and Darlington were the only boards to have women members, the former with two, and the latter with four, the longest serving being Miss Fry of Darlington (1891-1900). Gateshead had three women members, one of whom had been headmistress of Redheugh Girls' School, and was a member for nine years. Seven Teesside boards, including Middlesbrough, had no women members. Tudhoe school board was in a similar position. During an existence of 28 years not one woman offered herself as a candidate.

Jones has suggested that one of the most important functions that the school boards performed was to bring influential people face to face with social problems which had previously been known only to a few, thereby increasing the social awareness of the community at large.[11] Maclure goes further when he says that one of the consequences of making the school board an ad hoc authority charged with the development of a single service, was that many people who were especially interested in education, but might not have otherwise entered local politics were prepared to stand for election.[12]

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10. D.K. Jones, The Making of the Education System, 1851-81, 1977. p.72.

11. Ibid., p.73.

12. J.S. Maclure, One Hundred Years of London Education, 1870-1970, 1970, p.16.

For many people, election to the school board was their first introduction to public life. Many people put their experiences gained on the boards to good use. They stood for election to the local town and urban district councils. Several members of Tudhoe school board also served on Spennymoor Urban District Council.

Throughout the country the type of area was often reflected in the composition of the school boards. Rural boards were usually composed of the local squire, clergy and farmers. A typical rural board existed at Carlton Husthwaite, a small village four miles north of Easingwold in the North Riding of Yorkshire. In 1880, of the five board members, four were farmers and one was listed as an 'Agent for Manure'. Traders and merchants were elected to boards in large towns, whilst industrialists and manufacturers were elected to boards in industrial areas. The Lancashire mill town of Nelson, which did not form a school board until 1893, had several mill workers on the nine member board. In the first election, Ernest Johnson, a weaver, topped the poll, and of the remaining eight members, five were employed within the industry.[13] Theoretically any enfranchised person could stand for election to a school board. Forster had declared in Parliament that he hoped working men would secure election to them. However, most school boards remained predominantly middle class. Ratcliffe suggests a possible reason for this.[14] Only people of reasonable income could find it easy to take time off work for meetings; also they tended to be more articulate than the workers. Birmingham school board had a regular working class representative on the board. These boards provided outlets for the early

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13. G. I. Hawkes, The Development of Public Education in Nelson, Nelson, 1966, p. 115.

14. K. G. M. Ratcliffe, "Elections and the School Boards: Teesside", Journal of Educational Administration and History, Vol. 2, No. 2, June 1970, p. 32.

socialists, one of the most notable was Margaret MacMillan who served on Bradford school board. Tudhoe also relied heavily on the working classes. At the first election Robert Hope, a miner, was elected. He was an extremely diligent member of the board. During the three years life span of the first board, 42 meetings were held, Hope attended 34 of these.

The greatest influence upon the school boards in the north east, as elsewhere, was that of the clergy. In areas where they could not prevent the setting up of school boards, the denominationalists fought to get representation to protect their interests. The local vicar was a member of most boards. The first Tudhoe school board had three clerics, Joseph Watson, the Roman Catholic priest of Tudhoe, John Gaskill, the vicar of Spennymoor and John Watson, a Primitive Methodist Minister from Spennymoor. Two other clerics, Edward Wilkinson, the vicar of Tudhoe and Charles Friskin, the Presbyterian Minister from Mount Pleasant had made unsuccessful attempts to get elected.[15]

By far the most curious feature of the election of a school board was the system of cumulative voting which was introduced during the committee stage of the Education Bill. Each elector was allowed to cast as many votes as there were board members. This enabled minority groups to be elected. The boards varied from five to fifteen members according to the size of the school district, except in the case of London which originally had 49 members but was increased to 52 in 1882. This was an unusual number as the Education Department thought an odd number was better as it prevented differences arising from the balance of parties. No hard and fast rules were operated by the Department in approving the number of members on a board. In 1894 the Boston school board, Lincolnshire, (which had a population of just over 14,000), requested 11 members for its

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15. Durham County Advertiser, 18 February 1876.

first board. The usual ratio laid down by the Department was seven members for between 5,000 and 15,000 people but Newport Pagnall in Buckinghamshire had been allowed to have nine members with a population of only 3,788. When it was first formed, Tudhoe was a nine member board but it later increased to 13 as the population grew.

Initially the cumulative system of voting was devised to protect minorities and was welcomed by all sides. However, it was to become a continual source of discord and complaint throughout the school board period. It encouraged electoral compacts and led to many school board elections becoming extensions of political and religious conflicts. While achieving its aim of giving minorities representation, it worked against the normal British voting system by which a candidate has to obtain a majority over usually one or two opponents, and therefore to secure election the candidates must ordinarily express reasonable and moderate views so as to appeal to a large section of the community. The cumulative vote led to upsets and surprises for majority interests. Samuel Gott, a member of the first Local Board and first mayor of Nelson, refused to canvass, expecting to be returned. Much to his surprise he was rejected by the electorate.[16] There is little doubt that cumulative voting did lead to anomalies, and that it also introduced a great deal of electioneering. The press and the parties involved, urged their followers to vote in certain ways so as to gain the fullest representation.

A voter could distribute his votes as he wished. There were three methods whereby electors could distribute their votes. First, they could 'plump' all their votes on one candidate; second, they could give all their votes to a particular party group of two or more candidates; third, they could

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16. G. I. Hawkes, The Development of Public Education in Nelson, Nelson, 1966, p. 114.

distribute their votes in a more random way among all the candidates. Roman Catholic Priests, as a result of the cumulative vote did well in areas where there was a sizeable Catholic population. The Roman Catholic community of Tudhoe had obviously been well instructed on the effects of the cumulative vote. In the first election they concentrated all their nine votes on Joseph Watson. As a result he was returned at the top of the poll with 2,202 votes.[17] For the same reason, William Reed, the colliery manager, secured second place in the poll. Thomas Reay, a coal owner, and John Gaskill, the vicar of Spennymoor, united their fortunes and received very general support which placed them in third and fourth positions respectively. At the time it was thought that except for an accident at Whitworth colliery which had prevented many of their supporters from reaching the polling booths before they closed at 4 p.m., both men would have polled a considerably greater number of votes.[18] However, many of the voters did not fully appreciate the effect of the cumulative vote, or at least take it into account and there seemed to have been a considerable wastage of votes. As Miss A. M. Davies points out, it was very easy to waste votes unless there was a periodic publication of the state of the poll.[19] Once a candidate had obtained enough votes to secure his seat, no more electoral power should be thrown away on him by giving him additional votes. This, however, was easier said than done as the only towns in England to publish hourly returns were Barnsley and Chesterfield.

Once the school board had been elected it had to implement the provision of the Elementary Education Act of 1870, some parts of which were clear cut, whilst others were vague and ill-defined. The newly elected Tudhoe school

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17. Durham County Advertizer, 18 February 1876.

18. Ibid., 18 February 1876.

19. Miss A. M. Davies, The Barnsley School Board, 1871-1904, Barnsley, 1965, p. 9.

board held its first meeting on Thursday, 2 March 1876 in the National Schoolroom in Spennymoor. All the elected members were present. Their first task was to elect a chairman, Thomas Reay was voted to this positon and his vice-chairman was to be William Johnson. A clerk to the board was needed to correspond with the Education Department. Unlike the London school board who were offering a salary of £800 per year and had 89 applicants for the post,[20] Tudhoe had three applicants: Mr. Adey Forrest of Mount Pleasant; Mr. Bungey from Spennymoor and the successful candidate, Thomas Dundas Bruce of Bishop Auckland. Initially the board were undecided upon the salary to be paid. They decided to inquire from other local school boards already in operation as to the duties and salaries of their clerks. Having received the necessary information, the board decided to offer Dundas Bruce an annual salary of £70 which included payment for legal advice, but not for work connected with the transfers of schools, conveyances and mortgage deeds.[21]

As there would be financial transactions, a treasurer was a necessity. The board decided to approach Richard Hodges from the National Provincial Bank, Durham, to act as treasurer. If he accepted the position he would "be required ... to enter into a bond with sureties in the sum of £1,000."[22] At the next meeting a letter was read from Hodges stating that it was unusual for school boards to require their treasurers to give bonds "there being as a rule but little money passing through their hands."[23] However, he expressed himself willing to be governed by the decision of the board.

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20. J.S. Maclure, One Hundred Years of London Education, 1870-1970, 1970, p.18.

21. Minutes of Tudhoe School Board, 6 April 1876.

22. Minutes of Tudhoe School Board, 2 March 1876.

23. Ibid., 6 April 1876.

At this time the board had no permanent premises in which to hold their meetings. A small committee was appointed to obtain a suitable room. Their search was to prove fruitless. The solution lay in the hands of John Gaskill, the vicar of Spennymoor, who offered the use of his schoolroom until suitable accommodation could be found elsewhere.[24] It was to be three years before this room was found. When the period of office of the first board came to an end Gaskill was given a cheque for £5 to pay for the cleaning of the room.[25]

The officers had been appointed, a room had been obtained to hold meetings and now the board had to provide schools for the children in the neighbourhood. The board received a letter from the Education Department stating that there was a deficit of 950 school places in the area. Dundas Bruce was ordered to contact the Education Department to enquire what proportion of this number required accommodation at Spennymoor and what proportion at Mount Pleasant. The Department replied suggesting that the board should take a census of the number of children between the ages of three and thirteen in the several divisions into which the district could be conveniently divided for school purposes before any steps were taken to supply the deficient accommodation. The Department also wanted to know whether or not the Weardale Iron and Coal Company intended to carry out their proposal of opening a large public elementary school near Tudhoe for the children of their workers. The clerk contacted the Company who replied that it was their intention to open the Tudhoe Colliery Schools with as little delay as possible.

After the census of the children had been taken the district was divided into the following divisions:

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24. Minutes of Tudhoe School Board, 4 May 1876.

25. Ibid., 6 February 1879.

No. 1 Spennymoor district

No. 2 Tudhoe Colliery district

No. 3 Mount Pleasant district

No. 4 East Howle district

No. 5 Ferryhill district

No. 6 Merrington district

It was decided that two schools were required in the Spennymoor district; one in Spennymoor itself and the other in Tudhoe Grange; and one in East Howle district.

Many school boards hired premises which could be used as schools until their own premises were built. Tudhoe school board did not do this. In fact they turned down the opportunity to buy both Mount Pleasant Presbyterian School and Tudhoe National School. In April 1876 the board received a letter from William Fleming, secretary to the Managers of the former school stating that the Managers were prepared to transfer their schools to the board. The clerk was "ordered to ask Fleming on what terms that transfer was proposed to be effected."[26] At the following monthly board meeting Dundas Bruce informed the members that he had received a letter from Fleming stating the terms on which the Managers of Mount Pleasant Presbyterian Schools were prepared to transfer them to the board if they wished. He added that a deputation of the Managers were prepared to attend the next board meeting to give detailed information about the schools. A fortnight later a special meeting of the board was convened to meet the Managers. However, neither party was prepared to compromise and Dundas Bruce was ordered to contact Fleming stating that the board were prepared to accept the transfer of the schools

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26. Minutes of Tudhoe School Board, 6 April 1876.

and "to pay a nominal rent for them, or such sum as would repay the interest on any mortgage in respect of them."[27] The Trustees kept the board waiting for a reply and it was not until August that a letter was received stating that

> the Trustees of the schools would sell them to the board for the sum of £675 or for such a sum as might be agreed upon by arbitrators.[28]

A committee of six board members was appointed to inspect the schools. They reported that the premises were unsuitable and that the offer be declined. The school finally closed in October 1876. The following May the board received a letter from Edward Wilkinson, the vicar of Tudhoe, on behalf of the Managers of Tudhoe National School inquiring on what terms the board would accept a transfer of the school to themselves. After some deliberation it was agreed that the board were prepared

> to take the school for a term of years to be agreed upon and to pay a nominal rent per annum and to allow the Trustees to have use of it on Sundays and one evening during each week.[29]

However, after consultation with the National Society's secretary the managers of the school felt unable to accept the terms offered.[30]

Having committed themselves to build schools, the board had the task of finding suitable sites. This was not always easy as the board were to find out. The members decided that the clerk should contact George Stratton, the agent to the Shafto property, stating that they wished to purchase a site from him for a new school at Spennymoor. They wanted a site on the south side of the Durham and Bishop Auckland Turnpike. The site had to be large enough to build a school which was to accommodate 600 pupils in equal divisions

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27. Minutes of Tudhoe School Board, 18 May 1876.
28. Ibid., 9 August 1876.
29. Ibid., 3 May 1877.
30. Ibid., 5 July 1877.

of boys, girls and infants, and a master's house. Stratton replied "that the Board could have what land they required at 2/- per yard if taken from the road to the south hedge."[31] However, this offer was retracted a month later and the board was forced to seek another site on the Shafto land. Within two months another site had been selected near the railway which Stratton offered to sell at a price of £400 per acre. Finally in December 1876, George Stratton decided that the board could have the site at 2/- per yard.

In order to obtain the sites for the other two schools the board was forced to enter into lengthy negotiations. In August, 1876, the board appointed a committee of five members: John Gaskill, Joseph Watson, William Johnson, William Reed and William Hutchinson, to select a site for a school in the Tudhoe Grange part of No. 1 district. Having obtained a site, the Education Department sent an inspector to approve it. Before final approval could be given the Department wanted the plans and the costs and the amount of accommodation the board proposed to provide in the schools.

Thirteen months after its formation, the board was still having difficulty purchasing a site for the schools. They were finally offered one by Mr. Fleming on behalf of Marmaduke Salvin. The land was offered at a price of £35 per acre. Although the board thought this price too high, Salvin declined to lower the price and the board was obliged to pay this high price.

Although the Education Department approved of the plans for the school, there was some misunderstanding as to actual size of the school. The Education Department thought a school to accommodate 300 children would be sufficient; however, the board intended to accommodate 600 children in the school. This included 300 children in the district and 279 children from Mount Pleasant School

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31. Minutes of Tudhoe School Board, 6 July 1876.

who had been unable to be accommodated elsewhere in the district. There would also be a few children from the neighbouring district for whom there was not sufficient accommodation.

At the same time that the committee was set up to find a site for Tudhoe Grange School, another committee of five members was set up to search for a site for the school which was to be built at East Howle. Within a month this Committee reported that they had chosen a site between East Howle and Thinford. However, before the Education Department could approve of a school in that locality

> they wished to be informed whether the population for which that school was intended did not include a population in the neighbourhood of Metal Bridge which had hitherto been accommodated by the Tursdale Colliery School and for which the school was still conveniently available. [32]

The board understood that schooling would be required for 150 children in that area. Also they had made inquiries of the parents and they

> strongly objected to sending their children to the Tursdale Colliery School by reason of distance and also because the children had to pass over two streams, one of which was only crossed by a plank, and they were anxious to have a school near them. [33]

The board was also given to understand that 60 or 70 new houses were to be built in the locality. The population surrounding Tursdale Colliery School was rapidly increasing so that very shortly there would be insufficient accommodation in that school. Thus a school at East Howle was necessary.

The board asked Mr. Parker, an architect from Newcastle, to draw up plans for the school. By May 1877 although the board had a ground plan of the school they still had to ascertain whether or not they could purchase the site chosen. The site the board had chosen belonged to the Dean and Chapter

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32. Minutes of Tudhoe School Board, 2 November 1876.

33. Ibid., 2 November 1876.

of Durham Cathedral. Mr. S. C. Rowlandson wrote to the board on their behalf stating that they

> were willing to sell a site for a school on Cookson's Green Farm, Ferryhill on condition that the land be fenced off from the field by a wall not less than six feet high and maintained by the board for ever, and that the board pay all expenses incident to the transaction.[34]

The site would be sold subject to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners' rights to the minerals and the powers for mining, working and carrying away the same.

Having gained the approval of the Education Department for their plans the school board re-selected a site opposite the one first chosen. In August, 1877, the deal was completed and the land was bought from the Dean and Chapter at the price of 1/6 per square yard. It was then decided that Dundas Bruce should write to Rowlandson asking him whether or not the Ecclesiastical Commissioners would be willing to pay compensation for any damage that might be done to the school or school premises through the working of minerals. He also contacted the Carlton Iron Company who were the lessees asking if they "would forego their right to work the coal under the site or pay compensation for any damage that might be done to the premises."[35] Two months later the board received a reply from Mr. J. Lymas, secretary to the Carlton Coal Company stating that

> the directors could not see their way to entertain the application for surrender of their rights to work the coal under the proposed site, neither could they agree to indemnify the board from possible damage.[36]

Having obtained the sites for the schools, the board were in a position to advertize for tenders for the erection of the schools. The first tender to

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34. Minutes of Tudhoe School Board, 3 May 1877.

35. Ibid., 6 September 1877.

36. Ibid., 17 May 1877.

be advertized was for Spennymoor school. In May 1877, the clerk laid before the board 11 tenders he had received for the whole of the work and two tenders for part of the work. It was unanimously agreed to accept the tender of William Foster of Croxdale for the whole of the work to be completed at a cost of £4,930 15s. 11d. subject to certain conditions which Foster duly accepted.[37]

However, in September the board received a set-back when George Stratton wrote informing them that he had no power to sell the north corner of the site shown on the plan. John Gaskill informed the other members that he had had an interview with Stratton since the receipt of the letter and as a result Stratton had withdrawn his statement. Eighteen months after deciding that a school was needed in Spennymoor the building was finally begun. The builder was allowed 14 months to complete his contract. In order to pay for the work the board applied to the Public Works Loan Commissioners for the sum of £6,052 14s. 11d. Foster was paid in instalments of varying amounts over the next year until he had been paid.

In November 1877, the board was at last able to advertize for tenders for the other two schools. At the same time the Weardale Iron and Coal Company, who had recently opened their own school in the neighbouring district of Tudhoe Colliery, wrote to the Education Department referring to the advisability of building such a large school in Tudhoe Grange. In their reply the board quoted their population figures. This query from the Weardale Iron and Coal Company must have shaken the confidence of the board because they ordered the clerk to write to the Education Department asking whether they

> might now proceed to accept tenders for the erection of these schools or whether they should wait for a further communication on the questions raised by the Weardale Iron and Coal Company Limited.[38]

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37. Minutes of Tudhoe School Board, 17 May 1877.

38. Ibid., 3 January 1878.

In their reply the Education Department declined to interfere in the matter between the board and the Weardale Iron and Coal Company as to the siting of the school and they could see no reason why the building of the schools at Tudhoe Grange should not proceed. When the tenders for these schools were opened it was unanimously agreed

> that that of Messrs. W. and R. Blackett of Bishop Auckland be accepted price £3,998 on condition that they enter into an agreement with the board in such terms as the board may think necessary.[39]

After the board had received approval of the architect's plans for East Howle School they advertized for tenders. In January 1878 the board voted that Messrs. Hutchinson and Sedgewick of Gateshead be given the task of building the school. They had quoted a price of £2,550 7s. 0d. Before they were allowed to sign the contract they had to agree to certain conditions which the board might think necessary.

After all the delay the board was at last able to report that all three schools were in the process of building. Presumably the construction of Spennymoor and Tudhoe Grange schools went ahead with very little difficulty as there are very few references to their building in the minutes of the board meetings. The work of building East Howle school was progressing steadily when the board received a communication from the contractor, Mr. Hutchinson, asking them to contact the Weardale and Shildon Waterworks Company to supply water to the school. The board decided to advertize for tenders for laying a 3 inch pipe for carrying water from the terminus of the Weardale and Shildon Waterworks Company mains at Metal Bridge to the new school, a distance of about 407 yards. This work was to be done to the satisfaction of the board's Clerk of Works and the roads under which the pipe was laid were

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39. Minutes of Tudhoe School Board, 7 February 1878,

to be put in good condition. The pipe was to be laid at a uniform depth of 18 inches. The board received three tenders: from Messrs. Thomas Snaith; William Wilson and William Geldard. After some consideration they decided to accept the tender of William Wilson who quoted a price of 2/- per lineal yard on condition that the requirements of the Water Company were complied with. Having given Wilson the task of laying the water pipes one would have assumed that he would have been given the job of connecting water and the necessary apparatus into East Howle School and the master's house. However, he was asked to submit tenders for the work along with Thomas Snaith and William Geldard. The decision of the board is open to speculation; the work was given to Thomas Snaith who submitted the price of £28 10s. 0d.

By this time the term of office of the board was coming to an end. Although the schools were nearing completion, the board had provided no educational provision for any children, indeed they had denied some children an education when Mount Pleasant Presbyterian School closed. In spite of this seeming inactivity on the part of the board, the members must have felt pleased with their achievements. Six of the members already serving on the board stood for election to the next board. They were: William Hutchinson; John Gaskill; William Johnson; Thomas Reay; Joseph Watson and William Reed.

CHAPTER 4

THE WORK OF SUBSEQUENT SCHOOL BOARDS IN TUDHOE, 1879-1904

Much of the work of the first school board involved the building of schools. However, once the board had the schools much of their time was spent appointing staff for the schools. At almost every meeting time was spent on staffing problems: there were vacancies to be filled which had been caused by the transitory nature of the teaching profession. However the board was faced with other problems to solve.

In July 1881 the board received a letter from the Weardale Iron and Coal Company stating that they were considering the closure of their schools. They asked if the board would be prepared to take them over and on what terms would they be willing to do so. The Clerk was instructed to ask the Company on what terms they would be prepared to make the transfer. He was also instructed to ask the Crook School Board for guidance on what terms they had accepted transfer of certain schools in their district.

The Weardale Iron and Coal Company stated that as the schools were private property the Company would much prefer to sell them and would consider any offer the board might make. The schools had originally been built at a cost of £3,250 and were built on Salvin land on which the Company had a 99 year lease. The Clerk was instructed to ascertain the date of commencement of the lease, the amount of ground rent and the lowest price the Company was willing to accept for the schools. Meanwhile, the Clerk of Crook School Board wrote giving information as to terms on which schools in their district had been transferred to the board. Unfortunately the details of these terms are not recorded so it is not known whether or not Tudhoe

School Board used the information received.

The board received a letter from Mr. Wraith on behalf of the Coal Company stating that they would

> sell Tudhoe Colliery Schools, i.e. Mixed and Infants' Schools and all buildings contained within the present enclosure wall for £3,000. The schools were capable of accommodating 689 scholars (Mixed 486, Infants 203) and could be transferred on 31 December next. The land on which the schools were built with outhouses and playgrounds was R 3.287p in extent and was held together with lands adjoining on lease for a term of 99 years from 13 May 1874 at £15 per acre per annum.[1]

The Board instructed their architect, John Henry, to survey the premises. This survey was duly carried out and in his report Henry assessed "the amount for the said schools together with internal fittings, out offices, boundary walls and value the site at £2,800."[2] The Coal Company were also asked for an inventory of the fittings and school apparatus which they proposed to hand over with the schools.

Having received the inventory the following resolution was carried unanimously:

> Keeping in view that after opening Croxdale Board School the attendance at Tudhoe Colliery Schools will be much less than the accommodation provided, and considering the actual cost of £6 per scholar for the Tudhoe Grange School is the highest value to the Board of the additional school property, it is resolved to purchase from the Weardale Iron and Coal Company the schools known as the Tudhoe Colliery Schools for the sum of £2,400, the sum to include all the furniture, books, maps, slates, apparatus and other materials now in the schools and also including all the articles mentioned in the inventory forwarded by the Company. Possession to be given to the Board on 31 December 1881. The purchase money to be paid without interest on the last day of May 1882. The Company entered into a covenant with the Board to indemnify them against all damage which may hereafter accrue to the schools on buildings by reason of underground mining operations and in case of damage the Company to reinstate the property to the satisfaction of the Board.[3]

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2. Minutes of Tudhoe School Board, 6 October 1881.

3. Ibid., 24 October 1881.

The Weardale Iron and Coal Company accepted the terms offered by the board except that the covenant of indemnity against damage caused by underground mining operations could only remain in for so long as their leases of coal continued. However, the board refused to accept this, they voted that the condition of purchase must include the covenant of indemnity. The Clerk also had to inform the Coal Company that any negotiations must be to the approval of the Education Department. The Company finally agreed to reinstate the property in the case of damage five years after the termination of the lease, providing that such damage was caused by colliery workings.[4]

The board re-organized the schools into three departments; Boys, Girls and Infants. When they were opened under the auspices of the board on 2 February 1882 there was sufficient accommodation for 569 pupils, 197 boys, 169 girls and 203 infants. At the opening, 267 pupils attended, 115 boys, 82 girls and 70 infants.

The schools continued to function in this way for two years before the school management committee decided that the schools should be re-organized. Instead of separate departments for boys and girls there was to be a mixed one. The board applied to the Education Department for permission to make the changes. The Department in turn consulted Her Majesty's Inspector about the proposed change. He replied that the schools had been mixed when under the auspices of the Weardale Iron and Coal Company and had not been particularly successful. He went on to say:

> I am very doubtful therefore as to the wisdom of the proposed change but will not refuse my consent to it if the Board be willing to regard the scheme as tentative and subject, if necessary, to re-consideration.[5]

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4. Minutes of Tudhoe School Board, 1 December 1881.

5. Ibid., 7 August 1884.

The Department added that if the board wanted to make the changes on these terms they would not object. The resultant amalgamation meant that the headmistress of the girls' department was redeployed as an assistant in the new mixed department. Whatever the reasoning was behind this move on the part of the board the schools functioned as a two department school for many years to come.

The board members were usually the chief ratepayers in the area. It was in their own interests to keep the rates as low as possible and much time was spent deliberating the expenditure of paltry sums of money. Schools were built as cheaply as possible. The exception to this was Bradford. The early board schools here, were expensive to build. Relatively expensive materials such as stone and pitch pine were used.[6] The schools in Bradford cost about £24 per pupil to build. One school cost about £17,000. A defender of this high cost could claim that Bradford foresaw the need for expansion and bought sites which were large enough to accommodate extensions.

Land was always obtained at a premium especially in London, which accounted for many London schools being built in several storeys. A new board school in Lewisham cost £14 per child and this was comparatively expensive. Sheffield schools seem to have cost about the same as those in London. Tudhoe school board built schools as cheaply as possible. Consequently they were constantly having to have them repaired. Unlike Bradford, the members did not anticipate any population growth. As a result the schools had to be enlarged on several occasions much to the inconvenience of the staff and the pupils. The Inspector reported that the classrooms at Spennymoor schools were too small. He had made this observation for a period of years

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6. F.J. Adams, Education in Bradford Since 1870, Bradford, 1970, p.6.

but the board always conveniently overlooked it. Finally in 1903 the board definitely decided to carry out the work.[7] However, before work could commence it was decided that a new school should be built as well. This new school was to be known as Spennymoor Edenfield School. At the same time it was decided to build another school at Deanbank. This school was built on a site of three acres which had been purchased at a cost of £360 per acre.[8] In order to pay for this land and the cost of building the board applied to the Public Works Loan Commission for a loan of £8,000.[9] However, during this time the 1902 Education Act came into force and the building of these schools was taken out of the hands of the board.[10]

Having spent a great deal of money having the schools built, the members of the school board felt it their duty to insure them against fire. The first school to be insured was Spennymoor school. The school was insured for £4,000 with the 'Sun' insurance company.[11] The furniture was insured for £150. When East Howle School was nearing completion the board approached the London and Lancashire Insurance Company to insure the school buildings for the sum of £1,400. The furniture was also insured for a further £100.[12] The board approached yet another insurance company to insure Tudhoe Grange schools. The schools were insured against fire with the Scottish Union and National Insurance Company. The furniture was insured for £150 but this was included in the total sum of £3,000.[13]

To pay for the schools the board had borrowed heavily from the Public Works Loan Commissioners. The instalments on this loan and the interest

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7. Minutes of Tudhoe School Board, 9 January 1903.
8. Ibid., 8 January 1904.
9. Ibid., 5 February 1904.
10. Ibid., 3 June 1904.
11. Ibid., 6 March 1879.
12. Ibid., 7 August 1879.
13. Ibid., 4 December 1879.

incurred had to be repaid. Then, as now, the heaviest item of expenditure was salaries. Not only the salaries of the teachers but also those of the cleaners and other officers employed by the Board. How were these outgoing expenses to be met?

A source of revenue was the rates. A rate was fixed and a precept was served on the overseer of the district. The rates were kept as low as possible. In October 1876 the overseers of the townships of Ferryhill, Merrington, Tudhoe and Whitworth were called upon to pay £50. This amount rose steadily and by 1879 the rate was 1d. in the pound. This was kept fairly constant until 1891 when it rose to 2d. in the pound. By 1897 it had risen to $2\frac{1}{2}$d. in the pound.

Along with the fees and the government grant the rates formed the income of the board. The need for economy was uppermost in the minds of the board. Fuel, water and gas were strictly rationed. In June 1880 the head-teachers of the schools received the following directive from the board:

> Special attention is to be given to the consumption of water and gas in their schools.[14]

An additional source of income was brought to the attention of the board in September 1879. They were informed that a certain Mr. Cooke late of Merrington had bequeathed to his trustees "certain money which was to be applied to educational purposes."[15] The Clerk was ordered at once to make enquiries. He contacted Messrs. Thompson and Lisle, solicitors of Durham, who, he was informed could furnish him with particulars regarding the bequest. Unfortunately the solicitors knew nothing about this bequest and were unable

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14. Minutes of Tudhoe School Board, 3 June 1880.

15. Ibid., 4 September 1879.

to say who were the trustees. The matter dragged on for many months. Mr. Cooke's will could not be found at Durham. A member of the board, Henry Ground promised to "endeavour to obtain some further information."[16] He too was unsuccessful, and finally in April 1881 the board felt that they would have to let the matter drop.

Had the board known it there was a relatively untapped source of income available. By the terms of a codicil to his will, James Finlay Weir Johnston, a well-known scientist of his day, left the residue of his estate, after the death of his wife, to trustees "to appropriate the same to such literacy, scientific or educational objects as they in their judgement may deem most expedient."[17] In his memory and with his money, the Johnston Laboratory was established at the Durham College of Science, now the University of Newcastle upon Tyne. Afterwards the money lay forgotten until the Principal of Bede College, Durham and the Physical Science Master of Durham School wrote to the Charity Commissioners in 1890. It was discovered that the residue of Johnson's estate amounted to £9,005 2s. 8d. and little over a half of this sum had been used for educational purposes. This money would have been useful not only to Tudhoe school board but to the many other small boards who were struggling to provide an education for the children under their control.

Subsidiary sources of income were never overlooked. The sale of needlework brought in a regular income. After cookery had been introduced into the curriculum the items baked were also sold. However, the most regular source of income was from letting the schoolroom, it was usually

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16. Minutes of Tudhoe School Board, 1 July 1880.

17. G. R. Batho, "A Man of Science: James Finlay Weir Johnston (1796-1855)" in R. Lowe, "Biographies of Education", History of Education Society.

the only large room available in the village. The Tudhoe board, along with other school boards, had qualms about letting the schools for the purposes of amusement and social entertainments. In December 1879 it was decided that when schools were required for such purposes the board would have to consider each case on its own merits.

The board's first application for the use of Tudhoe Grange school was received in February 1880. A science and art class wished to use the school. The management committee was empowered to let the school on the terms which they thought proper. In the following May the school board turned down a request from Mr. Burkett of Byers Green who wanted to use East Howle school room for a concert. The Clerk was ordered to reply that the "board had made a regulation that their schools should not be used for such a purpose and they therefore regretted that they were unable to comply with his request."[18] However, the board had second thoughts about letting the schools. They decided that Spennymoor and Tudhoe Grange schools could only be used for ratepayers meetings but East Howle school could be let for various activities providing the management committee could come to satisfactory terms and conditions with those wanting the school. The board soon saw the folly of this directive and it was rescinded.

The schools were often used for educational purposes other than the usual ones. A deputation from the Educational Committee of the Spennymoor Church Institute visited the board in September 1885. They wanted to use Spennymoor board school for the purpose of holding science and evening classes during the winter. Nothing of a religious or sectarian nature would be taught. The board agreed to the request.[19]

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18. Minutes of Tudhoe School Board, 6 May 1880.

19. Ibid., 3 September 1885.

The following year a Mr. Tate from Sunderland wrote asking the board if he could have use of Spennymoor school for a Science class during the winter. The board allowed him use of the school at a rental of £1 1s.[20] Thirteen months later Mr. Tate sent a postal order for £1 10s. and asked for the use of the school again from September 1887 until May 1888. After he had paid an extra 9s. the board could hardly refuse his request.[21]

John Reavely asked permission to use Spennymoor school for a shorthand class. He was allowed to have the school at the relatively low rent of 5s. per quarter. However, his classes only lasted for an hour so he did not really get a bargain.[22] It is difficult to assess the success of such ventures, one can only presume a class is a success if it is repeated the following year. The shorthand class was not.

The Good Templars' Lodge had the use of Tudhoe Colliery school every Tuesday evening from 7.00 to 9.30. They paid a weekly rental of 6d. to cover the cost of the gas.[23] The staff from the school frequently complained about the condition in which they left the school. Furniture frequently had to be repaired. The Lodge was often behind with the rent but the Methodist connection on the board allowed the Good Templars to use the schools for many years.

The schools were often used as polling stations at elections. Naturally, a fee was charged for the use of the school. After the general election in 1885 it was agreed that the Returning Officer should be charged 10s. for each room used during the election. This was to defray the expenses incurred by the board. Six rooms had been used for the election, three at Tudhoe Grange and

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20. Minutes of Tudhoe School Board, 2 September 1886.
21. Ibid., 6 October 1887.
22. Ibid., 2 July 1891.
23. Ibid., 4 September 1890.

three at Spennymoor, thus a total fee of £3 was requested.[24] The Returning Officer replied that other schools were receiving 5s. per room and he would remit that sum to the Clerk for the use of the schools in Tudhoe. The Clerk was directed to demand the fee of 10s. per room. However, the Returning Officer replied that "if the Board claimed more than 5s. for each room used in the General Election they must furnish him with bills of particulars of expenditure incurred."[25] The members obviously realized that it was impossible to get any more than the usual fee of 5s. so they accepted that and let the matter drop.[26] The board often had requests from political parties to use the schools for their meetings. Whether the board saw these requests as a lucrative source of income, or if they charged a high rent to dissuade the politicians from using the schools is unknown. Whatever the reasons the political parties were to be charged 15s. for each meeting.[27]

Not all requests to hire the schools were granted. The Sons of Temperance had their application for use of a room in Tudhoe Grange turned down. They had wanted a room in which the Lodge and the Band could meet.[28] This was a surprising refusal: one would have thought that the Methodists would have approved of anything dealing with temperance.

Once elected the members of any school board were expected to attend as many meetings as possible. Should they fail to attend six consecutive monthly meetings, then by the terms of the Act they were disqualified. At the first meeting of the second triennial board, Thomas Reay, the colliery owner,

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24. Minutes of Tudhoe School Board, 3 December 1885.
25. Ibid., 4 February 1886.
26. Ibid., 4 February 1886.
27. Ibid., 7 January 1892.
28. Ibid., 4 February 1886.

was elected to the chair and William Hutchinson was elected vice-chairman. Reay attended this meeting but failed to make another appearance. As a result he was disqualified and the position of chairman became vacant. This position was filled by the vice-chairman, William Hutchinson, and the colliery manager, William Johnson, was voted into the office of vice-chairman.[29] In 1887, William Tunstall, a miner and newsagent was disqualified for non-attendance.[30] As was usual, this vacancy was filled by someone who was voted on to the board by the existing members. The following year, 1888, the fifth triennial election took place. Soon after their election two members, William Blenkin and Robert Hope attempted to persuade the board that in the event of a vacancy occurring on that particular board it should be filled by the unsuccessful candidates having the highest number of votes at the last election. Although this proposal was discussed at length it was eventually withdrawn,[31] and vacancies continued to be filled in the usual manner. Once elected to the board the members were diligent and attended as many meetings as possible. It was not until 1902 that the third and last member was disqualified because of non-attendance. William Outhwaite, an iron worker, was elected to the board in 1900. However, in 1902 the Clerk contacted him and suggested that he resign his seat because of continued absence from meetings. In his reply Outhwaite stated that he had been unable to attend any meetings since the closure of the Iron Works and he resigned his seat. However, a month later he wrote informing the board that he was in a position to attend the meetings. He was re-elected to the board at the next meeting.[32]

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29. Minutes of Tudhoe School Board, 4 September 1879.

30. Ibid., 7 April 1887.

31. Ibid., 5 April 1888.

32. Ibid., 7 November 1902.

From its inception, Tudhoe had been a nine member board. It was decided to apply for increased representation to 15 on the grounds that the population of the district was over 20,000 and the rateable value was £63,515. It was thought that the election of a larger board would lead to a better representation of the several villages and hamlets in the district. However, the Education Department would only allow 13 members because of the size of the population.[33]

The only board school which was provided with accommodation for the head teacher was East Howle. After enduring the housing situation for some years, Mr. Charlton, head teacher of Tudhoe Grange school applied to the board for a house. This matter was referred to the management committee of that school.[34] After some consideration the management committee thought it had found the solution to the problem, Charlton and Thomas Naylor could change schools. Charlton would thus obtain a house but Naylor and his family would be homeless. Needless to say the two head teachers could not agree to the proposals. It was thought that the board could build Charlton a house which cost not more than £400. The chairman used his casting vote and the motion was defeated.[35] Charlton still had to provide his own accommodation.

The board was anxious to provide every available educational opportunity for the people of Tudhoe. They considered the formation of evening continuation classes. To this end the board contacted the head teachers of Spennymoor school and Tudhoe Colliery school for their opinion on the matter. The two head teachers agreed to teach such classes which were to begin at 6.30 and finish at 8.30. Admission was to be free.[36] The following year these evening classes

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33. Minutes of Tudhoe School Board, 2 October 1896.
34. Ibid., 1 March 1894.
35. Ibid., 3 May 1894.
36. Ibid., 20 September 1897.

were begun at East Howle school.[37] The continuation classes were provided for many years despite the fact that in 1899 they were run at a loss of £68.[38] By 1901 the classes were being held only in Tudhoe Grange school and East Howle school. The head teacher from Spennymoor school declined to teach at the classes. He must have been very annoyed when he discovered that those head teachers who were teaching the classes were to be paid 90 per cent of the total grant earned.[39]

There appeared to be very little outward disharmony amongst the members of the successive Tudhoe school boards, they seemed to be content to attend to the job in hand, that of providing sufficient school places and efficient teaching for the children in the neighbourhood. In 1899, the members were somewhat shaken when one of their number, James Dodd, a solicitor, made allegations about an absent member and local tradesmen.[40] This absent member was the chairman of the finance committee. The chairman, Thomas Black, advised Dodd to make his charge known to the Local Government Board and ask that they send an auditor to look into the matter. At the next meeting a Committee was appointed to investigate Dodd's allegations. This committee comprised Provost Watson, Rev. Hughes and Rev. McKinley and Messrs. Black and Rogerson. Dodd refused to give the committee any assistance which would have enabled them to investigate the charges. Consequently they came to the conclusion that the charges were unfounded. However, this did not satisfy Dodd who wanted to investigate the charges for himself. He was given permission to examine any documents

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37. Minutes of Tudhoe School Board, 22 August 1898.

38. Ibid., 11 August 1899.

39. Ibid., 6 September 1901.

40. Ibid., 14 July 1899.

or books belonging to the board provided he went to the Clerk's office at Bishop Auckland which he refused to do. As a result the matter was dropped. Whether or not the electorate remembered this fracas is not known but at the next triennial election in 1900 he was soundly beaten into 18th place.

Every school board had its notable members. London had the services of such prominent individuals as Huxley and W. H. Smith, Birmingham had Chamberlain. In the north-east many able and respected people put themselves forward for election. In Middlesbrough Rev. R. Lacy, who later became Bishop of Middlesbrough, served on the board, as did Isaac Wilson, M. P. and T. H. Bell, two local ironmasters. The latter became a baronet and was three times Mayor. William Fallow, 'the Father of the Tees' and a pioneer of Middlesbrough also served on the school board. Alfred Septimus Palmer, a mining engineer and brother of Sir Charles Palmer, founder of Palmer's Shipyards at Jarrow, was a prominent figure on Heworth school board. This board also had two well-known working class representatives. Joseph Hopper was elected onto it in 1881 and he later served on the Board of Guardians where he helped to provide homes for aged miners, now known as the 'Hopper Memorial Homes'. In 1887 his place on the school board was taken by John Simpson, who remained on the Board of Guardians, became a magistrate and then first representative on Felling District Council. The three great Darlington Quaker families, Dale, Fry and Pease, gave their services to the school board. David Dale (Baronet) was a member, Theodore Fry (M. P. 1880-1895), Baronet, and his son and daughter served on the board, Henry Pease, M. P. was on the board and in 1883 his wife became the first lady member.

Tudhoe had the services of Provost Joseph Watson, the local Roman Catholic priest. He served on all nine boards, a feat unequalled in Tudhoe. Although he served on every board Joseph Watson was never elected to the chair but he was vice-chairman on four consecutive boards. Provost Watson was born in Stella in 1821. When he was eight years old he was sent to Ushaw College. He was ordained in 1847 and served in churches in Carlisle, Cockermouth and Minsteracres before his appointment at Tudhoe in 1867. He was appointed Canon in 1870 and was made a Provost in 1890. He was a much-admired man and the Northern Catholic Calendar had this to say of him:

> One trait in particular which dominated his whole life; he was always the priest. In the Church, in the pulpit, in the humble cottage, in the public streets, the priestly reserve, the air of the ecclesiastic never forsook him...[41]

In 1897 he celebrated his golden jubilee in the priesthood. Whilst the other board members congratulated him on his achievement parsimony prevailed and a suggestion that the board should make him a presentation to commemorate the occasion was heavily outvoted. However, his parishioners presented him with a purse containing 100 sovereigns.[42] In spite of his age Provost Watson made an appearance at most meetings until July 1902. After this date he did not attend another meeting. Although it was usual for those members who had not attended a meeting for six months to be disqualified, he was not. At this time the life span of the school board was running out and perhaps this could have been the reason why he was not asked to resign. Provost Watson was suffering from ill-health and failing eyesight. However, this did not prevent him from carrying out his parish duties until 1908 when he retired to a convent in Gosforth. He died there on 27 December 1913.[43]

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41. Northern Catholic Calendar, 1915, p.119.

42. Durham County Advertizer, 10 December 1897.

43. Rev. J. Lenders, Minsteracres, Minsteracres, 1932, p.92.

Unlike many areas which became apathetic after the excitement of the first election, those elections in Tudhoe were always hotly contested. There were always more candidates than there were seats.

In 1902, a new Education Bill was introduced. The members of the board saw this as a threat to their control of education in the area. They declared themselves to be very disappointed with the proposals. At the monthly meeting in May 1902, the board discussed the Bill in some detail. Reverend McKinley thought that the board should express their opinion on the new Education Bill. He moved that the board disapprove of the bill on the following counts:

a) It aims at the destruction of the school board system and sets up in its place an authority which is not directly responsible to the people or directly responsible to the rate payers.

b) The proposed changes will introduce religious controversy into local elections.

c) It makes no provision for teacher training.

However Reverend Hughes expressed the opinion that the religious difficulty existed only on public platforms and not in the schools. He and three other members were of the opinion that although there was much in the bill which could be improved they were in favour of the main features. After the board had voted on the debate it was decided that the Clerk should write to the Education Department expressing their disapproval of their proposals. There is no record of any reply. In spite of their dislike for the bill the board had no alternative but to accept it when it became law. The school boards had been in control of the provision of education for so long they were loath to give up their hold. How could they achieve this? After some discussion the Clerk

was instructed to write to Durham County Council and state that

> in the opinion of this board it is desirable that this board should continue to act as Committee under the County Education Committee after the 'Appointed Day' viz. 1st April next.[44]

Durham County Council were only too pleased to allow this to take place and they replied in the affirmative.

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44. Minutes of Tudhoe School Board, 16 February 1904.

CHAPTER 5

THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS

Certain professions, such as those of solicitor and doctor, have for many years succeeded in maintaining some measure of control over entry into and training for their occupations. They have been licensed by the state to enforce this control. Teachers' associations have sought a similarly favoured position for their own occupation on various occasions during the past 100 years. Unfortunately they have not met with the same degree of success. Their failure to achieve this is probably due to a number of factors, the most important of which is the nature of the occupation itself. The great majority of teachers have always been employees and therefore have not been able to enjoy the independence of the professional man/client relationship. Another reason is the interest of the state as the monopolistic buyer of their services through the financial relationship it has established with the local authorities and voluntary bodies actually employing them.[1] Thus in the case of the elementary school teachers the state has traditionally prescribed in some detail the conditions of entry to the occupation and has determined the training required.

One of the earlier manifestations of the state's concern for elementary education took the form of seeking to secure a supply of properly qualified teachers. The inadequacies of the monitorial system on which schools under the aegis of both the National and the British and Foreign Societies operated led to the early experiments undertaken by Kay-Shuttleworth with the pupil-teacher system from 1846.

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1. P.H.J.H. Gosden, The Evolution of a Profession, Oxford, 1972, p.194.

It was Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth who did more than anyone to establish elementary school teaching as a recognized occupation. He promoted a pupil-teacher system which was intended to serve the double purpose of improving the instruction given in the elementary schools, and of providing for the training colleges a succession of capable students whose fees and expenses would be paid from government funds. It was also an attempt to raise the general quality of teaching in elementary schools and it provided a means of bridging the gap which had hitherto existed between the age of leaving school and the age at which it was possible to enter training college. To all intents and purposes the profession of elementary school teacher dates from the innovation of the pupil-teacher system in 1846, since it provided for a supervised training leading to a recognized qualification, which carried with it a salary partly guaranteed by the government.

The importance attached by Kay-Shuttleworth to training teachers came to be shared much more widely and by 1846 fifteen training colleges had been established. Indeed, from the mid-1840s the hallmark of professional ability of a teacher was the possession of a Government certificate gained either by internal examination at the end of a two year training college course or else by passing the external examination for practising teachers.

It was essential that a supply of good entrants should be secured for these newly established colleges and this was one of the aims of the system of grants offered by the State for pupil-teachers from 1846. Under these arrangements pupil-teachers were appointed at the age of 13 to an apprenticeship lasting five years. They were selected on grounds of both attainment and character and on the recommendation of the inspector. In order to encourage youngsters to take up the scheme, the Government offered

a grant to the pupil-teacher during each of his training years, ranging from £10 in the first year to £20 during the fifth and final year. These sums of money were despatched annually by postal order from the Education Department in London. It was hoped that in many cases the good conduct of the apprentice would lead to additional rewards being given by the managers of the school at which the apprentice worked.[2] The headteacher to whom the pupil-teacher was apprenticed was paid £3 annually in respect of the instruction which he was supposed to give for one and a half hours daily. Originally those teachers serving in Tudhoe were paid an annual bonus of £2 for each pupil-teacher in their charge. However, in 1901, when the pupil-teacher centre was opened, this bonus was removed and the teachers lost their additional income.[3] The head teacher was also expected to arrange for his apprentice to observe and to practise teaching. Pupil-teachers seem to have spent about five hours each day working in the schools, another one and a half hours being instructed and a further one and a half hours preparing their work. In this way it was hoped to supply the elementary schools with a reasonably skilled body of assistant teachers.

The intention was that the best of the pupil-teachers should pass into the training colleges at the end of their apprenticeship, and to achieve this, a system of 'Queen's Scholarship' was provided which enabled the able but impoverished student to meet the cost of a training college course.

With the establishment of a qualified profession there was a distinct levelling up in standards. The appointment of a qualified teacher was a guarantee that a certain minimum standard would be reached. However, the

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2. Pamela Horn, Education in Rural England, 1800-1914, Dublin, 1978, p. 57.

3. East Howle Mixed School log book, 10 December 1901.

system had its limitations. It tended to produce teachers who were competent but uninspired and indisposed towards originality and experiments. As late as 1903 the Inspector was asking for more intelligent and imaginative teaching in the lower standards of Tudhoe Colliery Mixed School.[4]

Having achieved the status of a qualified profession the effect was to endow elementary school teaching with a status, financial attraction and security which it had hitherto lacked. This greatly improved both the numbers and the quality of the recruits, and the apprenticeship arrangements ensured that the improvement would immediately have an effect at school level. Between 1849 and 1859 the number of pupil-teachers at work in schools rose from 3,580 to 15,224, and by 1859, 12,604 certificates had been awarded.[5] Gradually the childminders and the army of parrot-like child drill masters was being replaced by young adults with at least some semblance of training and competence.

However, for small rural schools, where the head teachers were unable to train apprentices because of their own limited academic achievement or because of a lack of suitable facilities within the school itself, the new post of stipendiary monitor was also created for youngsters between the ages of 13 and 17. They were to act as cheap substitutes for pupil-teachers, with the Government paying them an annual stipend ranging from £5 to £12 10s. over the four years of their employment. They too would receive a limited amount of instruction from the head teacher of the school in which they worked, while their duties would normally be confined to instructing the youngest pupils only.

The pupil-teacher system provided the foundation and much of the super-structure of the nineteenth century teaching profession. From the outset,

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4. Tudhoe Colliery Mixed School log book, 5 January 1903.

5. A. Tropp, The School Teachers, 1957, p. 21.

the Committee of Council was careful to provide a direct means of certificate qualifications for pupil-teachers and others who, for one reason or another, had not undergone a course in a training college. This attitude was only realistic as throughout the period the number of pupil-teachers successfully completing their courses far exceeded the number of places available in Colleges. Indeed, for some years previous to 1889 the number of people admitted as pupil-teachers was approximately 8,000 to 9,000 per year, the number who completed their apprenticeship each year was over 6,000, while the training colleges could not admit anymore than about 1,600 students each year. As late as 1898 over half (50.9 per cent) of women teachers in inspected schools and over a quarter (28.1 per cent) of the men had no college training.[6] These figures certainly hold true for Tudhoe. Although the head teachers were college trained most of the assistant teachers who were appointed by the school board were qualified under Article 50. These were persons who had passed the Queen's Scholarship Examination. The recognition of these teachers dated from the first day of the month succeeding the close of the examination by which they were qualified.[7]

The passing of the Education Act in 1870 caused a sudden demand for teachers and, as teachers had feared, the standard of the certificate was lowered to secure the staffing of the schools. In 1870 a new clause was inserted to the effect that, during the three years ending 31 December 1873, certificates could be awarded without examination to experienced teachers upon the report of an inspector. No less than 1,200 certificates without examination and 1,000 provisional certificates enabling ex-pupil-teachers to take charge of

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6. M. Hyndman, Schools and Schooling in England and Wales, 1978, p.161.
7. The Day School Code, 1899, p.18.

small schools were issued by 31 August 1873.[8] So great was the demand for teachers that the standard of a pass in the certificate examination was reduced still further, and the admission of acting teachers to the certificate was made easier so that in 1874 any efficient school master over the age of 35 years and any school mistress over 30 years of age could be certificated without examination. The Code of 1876 still further relaxed the conditions for granting certificates without examination. All these relaxations caused alarm among the existing teachers who feared that a glut would lower their remuneration. Many of them had obtained their certificates before the Revised Code when to obtain a first class certificate was a high mark of honour. They now saw the standard of the certificate being continually depressed, and their personal chagrin reinforced their professional anxiety.

At the Queen's Scholarship examination held in December 1899, 12,120 candidates were examined of whom 10,128 passed creditably. Of these only 2,600 gained admission to a training college.[9] The impression that emerges of the teaching staff is of a small band of trained certificated teachers immersed in the growing flood of untrained certificated teachers, assistant teachers, additional women teachers (Article 68-ers)[10], pupil-teachers and probationers. This flood of cheap untrained labour was mainly female. The proportion of women teachers of all classes had increased from 53 per cent in 1869 to 75 per cent in 1899. The higher proportion of untrained and uncertificated teachers among the women was due in part to the severe shortage of training college accommodation for them. The teachers were beginning to

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8. A Tropp, The School Teachers, 1957, p.117.

9. Ibid., p.117.

10. Article 68-ers' only qualifications were: they must be over 18; they must have been vaccinated; and they must satisfy the H. M. I. quoted in A. Tropp, The School Teachers, 1957, p.118.

see that an expansion of the training college system was necessary to reduce the army of unqualified probationers. (In 1879-80 there were 30,896 certificated teachers to 10,530 uncertificated. By 1899-1900 there were 64,009 certificated teachers to 49,977 uncertificated.)[11] This expansion was seen as part of a programme which would also increase the resources of the teachers' employers, establish a system of teachers' registration, remove control of the certificate from the hands of the government and drive the unqualified from the profession.

During the years 1870-1895 important changes took place in the methods of educating and training pupil-teachers. For the most part the instruction given to the apprentice had been, and remained, poor, and it was to remedy this that the pupil-teacher centre was devised. The development of centres is commonly associated with the great city boards but they were not alone in their efforts to improve the education of the pupil-teacher.

The most extensive experiments in central instruction were made by the school boards of London and Birmingham. As early as 1874 the London Board had been concerned with the glaring defects in their pupil-teacher system, the chief being that in their early years the apprentices were really useless as teachers, while apprentices at all stages were not receiving adequate instruction. In 1875 a scheme was devised whereby arrangements were made for more efficient instruction of pupil-teachers out of school hours. However, this scheme met with the disapproval of the Education Department because the Code stipulated that the instruction of apprentices was to be given by the head teachers of the schools in which they worked. By the Code of 1880, central instruction received official recognition, and a class of probationer

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11. A. Tropp, The School Teachers, 1957, p.118.

was recognized. These were girls and boys between the ages of 13 and 14 who spent a year previous to apprenticeship in a school receiving instruction and doing a certain amount of teaching. The London School Board immediately set about drawing up a new scheme and in 1882, evening and Saturday morning classes were successfully begun. Although this scheme was not entirely satisfactory, their next scheme received official approval. Pupil-teachers and probationers were divided into two sections: the junior section consisted of those who had not passed beyond the status of a second year pupil-teacher; the senior section were those pupil-teachers in the third and fourth year of their apprenticeship. The juniors spent half of every school day and Saturday mornings at the centres. The seniors spent a good deal more time in teaching and attended the centres only on two half days a week and on Saturday mornings.[12]

At Birmingham the pupil-teachers were not allowed so much time away from their school work in order to attend the centres for instruction. Each pupil-teacher was allowed only half a day away from school each week, and had to attend for two and a half hours of instruction at the offices of the School Board. In addition, three hours every Saturday morning were spent in central instruction in one of the board schools, and two and a quarter hours on two evenings during the week.

Undoubtedly the centre system made for more efficient instruction, although it was by no means universally successful. It was difficult to apply in rural districts and even some large towns (e.g. Sheffield) did not have good results. A system instituted at Leeds whereby pupil-teachers were farmed out in groups to selected masters, but allowed no time away from school was

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12. R.W. Rich, The Training of Teachers in England and Wales During the Nineteenth Century, Cambridge, 1933, p. 237.

condemned by the inspectors.[13]

From 1886 to the end of the century pupil-teacher centres came into being all over the country, although naturally the system was most developed in the great cities where the rough and ready accommodation of the pioneer years was replaced by buildings especially designed for the purpose.

Not to be outdone, Tudhoe School Board finally decided to have central classes for pupil-teachers. In June 1899 the pupil-teacher centre was opened at Tudhoe Grange School. Shortly after the opening, Lot Squire, Head teacher at Tudhoe Colliery Mixed School, found it extremely difficult to carry on the normal work of the school. Not only were the pupil-teachers attending the central classes but another member of staff was absent taking the certificate examination.[14] The following April the day classes for the pupil-teachers were discontinued and the "teachers would be taken by the head-teachers as previous to classes."[15] Finally in 1901 the Board appointed a Mr. Wordingham as pupil-teacher master to take charge of all the pupil-teachers at the centre in the Grange School. The head teachers were informed by the Clerk that probationers and third year pupil-teachers were to attend during the morning and the first and second year pupil-teachers during the afternoon. They were to change alternately.[16]

Mr. Wordingham visited each school in turn to make arrangements. When he visited East Howle, Thomas Naylor suggested that

> classes should be held from 8.45 a.m. until 11.45 a.m. and from 1.15 p.m. until 4.15 p.m., thus allowing a longer dinner interval and enabling teachers from this school to have dinner and reach school by 1.30 p.m.[17]

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13. R.W. Rich, The Training of Teachers in England and Wales during the Nineteenth Century, Cambridge, 1933, p.237.
14. Tudhoe Colliery Mixed School log book, 3 July 1899.
15. East Howle Mixed School log book, 27 April 1900.
16. East Howle Infants' School log book, 12 November 1901.
17. East Howle Mixed School log book, 15 November 1901.

However, this arrangement did not work out as planned. The two pupil-teachers who were attending the central classes did not return to school until 2.00 p.m. They stated that they "were not dismissed from class until 12.20 instead of 11.45."[18] Until these pupil-teachers returned to school, four classes were without teachers. When members of staff were absent from school Thomas Naylor found it impossible to allow the pupil-teachers to attend the centre; they were needed in school.

The whole pupil-teacher system came in for considerable debate by the Cross Commission. There was an increasing body of opinion which regarded it as obsolete and definitely detrimental to the best interests of the teacher, although the conclusion reached by the majority of the Commission was that it remained the only possible means of supply despite its disadvantages. The system was attacked for putting immature and inefficient apprentices in the classrooms and giving them extremely poor instruction.

Many pupil-teachers were little more than children and found themselves in charge of a class of rowdy youngsters, many of whom had been their contemporaries a few months previous. Henry Bywater felt compassion towards his pupil-teachers who found themselves in this position:

> The two little lads are practically of no use at present except to stand in front of a class. Cooper does his best but he is young and his class is large.[19]

Cooper had been in this position for several months. In March of the same year Bywater had recorded that Cooper had been entrusted with a class of almost 60 children.[20] It is hardly surprising that the pupil-teachers found difficulty in preparing their lessons. On several occasions the head teachers

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18. East Howle Mixed School log book, 22 November 1901.

19. Ibid., 14 November 1884.

20. Ibid., 14 March 1884.

complained that the pupil-teachers had not learned their lessons properly:

> Adelaide Mohun promises well as a teacher but is backward in her studies.[21]

> Margaret Brown's home lessons are most unsatisfactory, she has been cautioned frequently but there is no improvement.[22]

> Elizabeth Sproates does her lessons in a most unsatisfactory manner never having the work which has been given to her properly prepared.[23]

> Ellen Hankey is very backward in her work and the papers she has been doing at Central Classes show a great lack of intelligence as well as ignorance of the subject.[24]

The pupil-teachers were too tired to prepare any lessons thoroughly. Having spent a tiring day in front of so many children they then had to prepare their lessons for the following day which they had to present to the head teacher at 8 o'clock in the morning. They were then given their own lessons by the head teachers. If they failed to arrive sufficiently early they had to stay after school. Henry Bywater was so worried about the progress being made by the pupil-teachers that he proposed giving them extra lessons on Saturday morning. However, the pupil-teachers were unable to come as they were going out.[25] He did not offer to do this again.

It is little wonder that there was a tremendous wastage of pupil-teachers particularly amongst the boys. Other occupations offered better financial inducements. Approximately half of the pupil-teachers employed by Tudhoe School Board failed to complete their apprenticeship. Some left for health reasons, another resigned to look after the home after her mother had died,

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21. East Howle Infants' School log book, 12 September 1884.

22. Ibid., 26 March 1884.

23. Ibid., 3 June 1891.

24. Tudhoe Colliery Infants' School log book, 9 September 1896.

25. East Howle Mixed School log book, 23 September 1881.

the Board dispensed with the services of some, whilst the rest decided that teaching was not the career for them. Very few of the pupil-teachers who completed their apprenticeship went to college although several did take the scholarship examination. This was because of the distinct lack of college places. Those women from Tudhoe who gained college places either went to the diocesan college of St. Hild's at Durham or they went to the local non-denominational college at Darlington. When Flora Squire left Tudhoe Colliery Mixed School to go to college at Darlington she was presented with a dressing case from the staff and pupils.[26] The men who went to college chose to go to Chester rather than the diocesan college at Durham. Perhaps Bede College still insisted on their students passing the Archbishop's Religious Examination before accepting anyone. It is noticeable that no-one ever attempted to go to St. John's College in York. During this period, however, this college had a poor reputation which may explain why it was by-passed.

One of the recommendations of the Cross Commission had been for the foundation of day training colleges associated with university colleges. The pressure for such non-residential colleges came largely from the school boards in the larger cities who found the supply of trained teachers from the existing colleges inadequate. Non-conformists also sought some widening of non-confessional training facilities for their students, who were finding it difficult to secure places in the colleges since so many of them belonged to the Church of England.

Some of the larger school boards had earlier sought to extend their powers to enable them to establish and maintain training colleges, and they pressed their case before the Cross Commission. Dr. Boddington, Principal

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26. Tudhoe Colliery Mixed School log book, 2 September 1901.

of the Yorkshire College in Leeds, submitted an elaborate scheme for the establishment of a university day training college in that city. Patrick Cumin, Secretary to the Education Department strongly supported the establishment of day training colleges under the direction of the local university colleges.

In 1890 the Education Department accepted the recommendation and issued regulations permitting the establishment of day training colleges by the existing universities and university colleges, and extending from two to three years the maximum permitted length of the course to enable those who sought to do so to read for a degree. The actual regulations introduced a much more liberal approach to teacher-training, for while day students were required to pass the examination prescribed in the Department's training syllabus in reading and recitation, teaching a class and school management, in the normal academic subjects the Department was prepared to accept the course and examination operated by the university to which the day training college was attached. Initially, two conditions were attached to this concession, firstly, the course of instruction had to correspond with the official syllabus in extent and difficulty and, secondly, the question papers and scripts had to be sent to the Department with the marks awarded in order that there might be an adjustment to the common standard adopted for the national classification applying to students at other colleges. By 1900 the new day training colleges had more than 2,000 student places,[27] including 20 students, 10 men and 10 women, who enrolled at the Durham College of Science at Newcastle when it opened on 22 September 1890.[28] The day training colleges did not tempt any of the Tudhoe pupil-teachers until 1904 when H. C. Askew made a successful application to Birmingham

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27. P. H. J. H. Gosden, The Evolution of a Profession, Oxford, 1972, p. 199.

28. J. C. Tyson and J. P. Tuck, The Origins and Development of the Training of Teachers in the University of Newcastle upon Tyne, Newcastle upon Tyne, 1971, p. 21.

Day Training College.[29] However, he was not the only pupil-teacher to have academic ambitions. The previous year Barbara Craig had passed the 1st B. Litt. examination at Durham University.[30] Her contemporary, Mary Broadley, took the same examination in 1904, in which she was successful.[31]

The pupil-teacher system formed probably the most important single contribution towards the development of elementary education as a mode of social control, although it was not clear to what extent contemporaries realized this. The system formed a limited career ladder for working class children to move into lower middle class respectability.[32]

However, this upward movement had been gained very slowly. By 1860, there were 6,433 certificated teachers and 13,237 pupil-teachers in England and Wales.[33] In spite of their rise to the lower middle class, teachers showed signs of being discontented with their status. The complaint usually followed the line that the teacher's training and qualifications led him to expect a higher social position than he occupied at the time. There was a feeling that the teacher should be ranked with other learned professions, not merely on his own account but because it was necessary for the interests of elementary education.

Much of the school teacher's unhappiness about his social position arose from the fact that too much was expected from him. During his apprenticeship he had to forgo the opportunity of earning the wages his contemporaries were receiving. In making the decision to become a teacher, a young person often

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29. Tudhoe Colliery Mixed School log book, 22 September 1904.

30. Ibid., 7 September 1903.

31. Ibid., 26 September 1904.

32. Gillian Sutherland, Elementary Education in the Nineteenth Century, 1971, p. 21.

33. A. Tropp, "The Changing Status of the Teacher in England and Wales", Sociology, History and Education, Ed. P. W. Musgrave, 1970, p. 198.

had to show considerable foresight, initiative and ambition, in breaking with traditional patterns of working class behaviour and alien culture.[34] Teachers were suffering from role conflict. On the one hand the teacher was expected to defer to the existing social order, on the other hand he was required to exercise a leadership role in relation to his social inferiors. He had to be given an income that set him above those whose children he taught but did not allow him to vie with the traditional holders of authority. In rural society he was expected to occupy a position next to, but below, that of the clergyman. The lot of the school mistress was even more unbearable. Her position separated her from the class to which she had originally belonged, while it did not bring her socially into contact with a different class and therefore she was very much isolated. She could marry neither a labourer nor an artisan as they were both uneducated men. On the other hand she was not likely to marry a person very much above herself.

Many women found the loneliness of their position difficult to overcome. The parish clergyman and his family might invite her to their home from time to time. However, even this simple invitation often placed the vicar's wife in a dilemma,

> I should like to ask Miss So-and-So to tea; but do I ask her to kitchen or dining room tea?[35]

Apart from this there were few leisure activities open to them. They were rarely on terms of social equality with the better-off members of their community. Perhaps this was the reason for the continual mobility of many women in the teaching profession.

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34. J. S. Hurt, Education in Evolution, 1971, p. 141.

35. Flora Thompson, Larkrise to Candleford, Oxford, 1945, p. 212.

Masters were better placed on social matters than their female counterparts. They had more opportunity to join village clubs and societies although the school house garden provided one of the main leisure activities for many of them. Partly for reasons of economy, especially where a master's salary was low and his family large, but also as a means of relaxation after a tiring day in school, countless men took an active pride in their digging and planting.[36] Unfortunately, very little is known of the leisure activities of the head teachers in the Tudhoe Schools. Lot Squire from Tudhoe Colliery Mixed School was an active member of the Durham Light Infantry Voluntary Reserves. Each year he asked for leave of absence to attend the annual camp.[37] He was always allowed to go provided he arranged for his place to be filled by a competent teacher during his absence. Thomas Naylor from East Howle Mixed School was a member of the Rowlandson Masonic Lodge where he reached the position of Grand Master.[38] The teachers from Spennymoor School used some of their leisure time to raise funds for a school library and for prizes for regular attendance. Mr. Chisholm, the head teacher, wrote to the Board asking for permission to use the school for a cantata to be performed by the teachers. This was entitled "The Forest Rovers" or "Robin Hood and his Merry Men". The Board acquiesced to the request.[39]

All the headmasters employed by the Tudhoe School Board were married men. The two headmasters from East Howle Mixed School were married to teachers. Henry Bywater was already married on his appointment whilst his successor, Thomas Naylor, married five years after his appointment as

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36. Pamela Horn, Education in Rural England, 1800-1914, Dublin, 1978, p.161.
37. Minutes of Tudhoe School Board, 4 June 1891.
38. Durham County Advertizer, 5 December 1929.
39. Minutes of Tudhoe School Board, 5 March 1891.

headmaster. He married Mabel Reed, the headmistress of the Infants' School. She came from the nearby village of Escomb and had trained at St. Hild's College, Durham. She arrived in East Howle to take charge of the Infants' school in January 1892. Three and a half years later she and Thomas Naylor were married. She continued her teaching career until Christmas, 1895, when she resigned her post. However, she continued to help out in the Mixed Department when they were short staffed. When John Chisholm was appointed to the headship of Spennymoor School his wife was unemployed. However, after the resignation of the headmistress of the Infants' School in December, 1879, she was offered the position which she duly accepted.[40]

The provision of a rent-free house or lodgings as part of the contract of employment was common during the nineteenth century. Even as late as 1900 about a quarter of all certificated masters (including those in both town and country schools) lived in rent-free accommodation. One reason for this was the shortage of suitable accommodation which could be rented in the normal way.[41]

In the first instance the appointment of the head teachers for East Howle Mixed School and East Howle Infants' School was to be a joint one of either husband and wife or brother and sister. The annual salary to be paid was £120 for the master and £70 for the mistress. There was also to be an unfurnished house.[42] The salaries to be paid to the successful applicants at East Howle were £30 and £5 respectively lower than those paid to the other head teachers appointed by the Board; however, the other schools did not have the advantage of a

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40. Minutes of Tudhoe School Board, 5 December 1879.

41. Pamela Horn, Education in Rural England, 1800-1914, Dublin, 1978, p. 152.

42. Minutes of Tudhoe School Board, 7 June 1879.

house. This was a period when there was no national salary scale. Generally those teachers who taught in urban areas were relatively affluent whilst those who taught in the rural areas were much poorer. However, Tudhoe School Board paid their teachers relatively high salaries. Perhaps the reason for this was that Tudhoe was in a somewhat remote area and the Board had to pay higher salaries in order to attract teachers. Once a headmaster was appointed by the Board he put down roots and stayed for a considerable period. East Howle Mixed School had two headmasters during the period while the other mixed schools under the auspices of the Board had only one head teacher. However, the infants' schools did not achieve the same stable leadership. There was considerable movement amongst the headmistresses; some stayed only a few months, whilst others stayed for a number of years. The average stay of a headmistress was three years. Unfortunately it has been impossible to ascertain their movements after their resignations. Perhaps they married or moved to another position paying a higher salary. Between 1870 and 1900 the salaries of certificated mistresses rose by 46 per cent. However, in 1900, 43.3 per cent of certificated mistresses were still earning less than £75 and if they had family responsibilities their standard of living "was very close to Charles Booth's definition of poverty."[43]

Before the School Board appointed any teaching staff the Board members decided that the Clerk should ascertain the salaries being paid by the other school boards in the area. Having gathered the appropriate information the Board applied for staff for Spennymoor Board Schools. William Greig was offered the position of headmaster but he declined to accept the post after he had been promised an increase in salary if he remained in his present situation. In

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43. A.C.O. Ellis, "The Training and Supply of Teachers in the Victorian Period", History of Education Society Bulletin, No. 24, Autumn 1979, p. 34.

his place the Board appointed John Chisholm from Ferryhill Iron Works School.[44]

When the applications for the posts of head teachers of East Howle Schools were discussed at the Board meeting in July 1879, the members agreed to offer the positions to Mr. and Mrs. Routledge of Walsall and in the event of their non-acceptance then the posts were to be offered to Mr. and Mrs. Henry Bywater from Walworth, London. The former couple declined to accept the position. The Clerk to the Board contacted Mr. and Mrs. Bywater and he was able to confirm that they had accepted.

The Board was fortunate in their choice. Henry Bywater stayed at the school for eleven years in spite of the treatment administered by the Board to his wife. As well as teaching in the Infants' School, Mrs. Bywater also taught Needlework to the girls in the Mixed Department. After the first examination of the two schools in 1880, H. M. I. Bernays noted that

> the Needlework is good but the Board should appoint a separate Sewing Mistress in place of the present teacher who has already sufficient employment.[45]

On receipt of the report the Board decided to reorganize the two schools. Mrs. Bywater was in limbo for the next few months whilst the Board deliberated her future. Finally in September 1881, the Board announced that they intended to advertise for a mistress for the Infants' School at a reduced salary of £60 per annum. The duties were to commence after the Christmas holidays. The position was eventually filled by Elizabeth Curry from Sunderland but only after two other teachers had declined. Meanwhile Mrs. Bywater was still in charge of the Infants' School, she had not yet resigned her post. At a special Board meeting convened on 24 October 1881, it was decided to terminate Mrs. Bywater's engagement. She was offered the post of sewing mistress in the Mixed Department.

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44. Minutes of Tudhoe School Board, 1 May 1879.

45. East Howle Mixed School log book, 10 February 1881.

This was to be a part-time position of six hours per week and carried an annual salary of £16. Mrs. Bywater announced to the Board that she was prepared to accept the position but only on condition that the salary was raised to £20. The Board agreed to her demand. Why did the Board allow itself to be dominated by Mrs. Bywater? Did they feel guilty about the treatment given to her? Whatever the reason, Mrs. Bywater served the Board in the capacity of sewing mistress until she and her family left the district in 1890. While it may seem that Mrs. Bywater was unfairly treated in comparison with the treatment given to other teachers employed by other boards, she was treated rather nobly. Many rural boards made dual or family appointments and considered that they were not being ungenerous. Although they offered only one salary, there were other benefits. One board in Derbyshire in 1887, offered a couple an annual salary of £80 with the addition of one half of the annual government grant.[46] Any male teacher whose wife was not at least able to teach needlework was in a difficult situation in many areas. Thus W. J. Smith of Frithville School in Lincolnshire was given three months notice in 1892 after his wife failed to gain the approval of the inspector, despite the fact that he had a first class certificate and good previous experience.[47]

During the last century village school teachers often had to be prepared to play the organ, train the choir, take charge of the Sunday School and perform a variety of parochial offices. The teacher was frequently the only person in the parish who could perform these duties. Tropp states that it was often clear that the ability to perform these duties was looked upon by many clergymen/managers as

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46. G. T. Rimmington, "English Rural School Boards, 1870-1903", History of Education Society, Occ. Pub. No. 3, Autumn 1977, p. 39.

47. Ibid., p. 40.

more important than the mere technical ability to teach.[48] These "extraneous duties" often generated much bitterness between school teachers and managers. Great emphasis was placed on the ability to play the organ and train the choir. A lack of musical talent could prove to be a great handicap for any master or mistress seeking promotion, no matter how satisfactory his or her academic achievements. One former Culham student, who was appointed to a headship at the age of 22, had been classed by the principal as "excellent, refined and of good tone" when he left in December 1872. He lost his position within six months because he was "not equal to organ duties". Several months passed before he obtained a fresh situation.[49] The teachers employed by Tudhoe School Board were not called upon to perform any musical duties - they were given much more menial tasks to perform, such as cleaning the schools and sweeping the chimneys. The Board employed cleaners whose specific duties were to clean the schools. However, the teachers often complained that the schools were improperly cleaned. In January 1881, after the cleaner of East Howle Schools resigned, the Board recommended that Henry Bywater should clean the schools himself. He was to receive a weekly salary of six shillings, this was four shillings less than was paid to the other cleaners. Bywater continued to clean the schools until he resigned. He was probably thankful to have the job of cleaning the school after his wife's salary had been drastically reduced. Shortly after his resignation in 1890 the National Union of Teachers carried out a survey in four selected districts which showed that about 400 out of 1,200 teachers were so placed that their position depended on the performance of extraneous work. Teachers did not object to performing these

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48. A. Tropp, The School Teachers, 1957, p.132.

49. Pamela Horn, Education in Rural England, 1800-1914, Dublin, 1978, p.188.

duties if it was left to their own decision but they did object to compulsion.

One of the most frequent grounds for disagreement between parents and teachers was over the question of school discipline. There is little doubt that there was a small number of men and women in the teaching profession who delighted in keeping their charges subdued and afraid. Nevertheless even for the non-sadistic majority of the profession, strict discipline was seen as the only way of coping with the mass of children of all ages and abilities who were crammed into the average classroom. Corporal punishment was accepted as an inevitable part of the disciplinary process. Most contemporary writers and lecturers on school discipline advocated a firm line. Joseph Landon of Saltley Training College declared that

> It is far safer in matters of discipline to err on the side of strictness than laxity. A child likes good discipline, and respects thoroughly a wise and decided control.[50]

There was the feeling that if teachers did not secure a dominance over their pupils, the youngsters would quickly get out of hand. Flora Thompson recalls one young mistress who went to Cottisford in the 1880s. She attempted to be both friend and teacher to her pupils but to them this smacked of weakness. They hid her cane, filled her inkpot with water, put frogs in her desk and asked her unnecessary questions about their work. When she answered them, they all coughed in chorus. On several occasions she appealed to them to show more consideration and once she burst into tears before the whole school. One afternoon a pitched battle raged among the older boys, the mistress had implored for order without effect. The rector arrived. His call for silence led to an immediate hush. The whole class sat "wide-eyed and horrified" whilst he caned each boy soundly. Although his action solved the immediate

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50. Pamela Horn, Education in Rural England, 1800-1914, Dublin, 1978, p.142.

problem it also meant the end of the teacher's career at that school. She left shortly afterwards.[51] One of the teachers from East Howle Infants' School had great difficulty in maintaining discipline. Margaret Brown was frequently cautioned about her lack of discipline until an exasperated headmistress recorded that she (Brown) was "unable to keep order. The boys are continually running about the classroom."[52] Annie Fleming, another teacher employed by the Board had such poor class discipline that the children were "learning literally nothing, the greater part of their time being spent in talking and playing."[53] Lot Squire was resigned to her inability to keep control when he wrote "All discipline is at an end."[54]

From the outset Henry Bywater made his position on corporal punishment quite clear. He was an advocate of it. To modern society the punishments administered seem very harsh for mild misdemeanours. The school had been open for only two weeks when the first entry about corporal punishment appeared in the log book:

> This morning I was obliged to punish George H. Ritson for playing during prayers. I had to caution him on the previous evening for the same offence.[55]

The following week Bywater punished William Johnson for swearing. There are many more references to punishment throughout Bywater's sojourn as headmaster. For him to administer anything less than six strokes was an exception.

This readiness to resort to the cane was copied by one of his pupil-teachers, Edward Parker. Bywater received a complaint that Parker had

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51. Flora Thompson, Larkrise to Candleford, Oxford, 1945, p.180.
52. East Howle Infants' School log book, 19 October 1886.
53. Tudhoe Colliery Mixed School log book, 14 December 1896.
54. Ibid., 14 December 1896.
55. East Howle Mixed School log book, 3 September 1879.

ill-used a child in his class and "certain marks upon the arms were shewn which he was alleged to have caused."[56] Parker was severely reprimanded by Bywater, who announced that he would have no alternative but to bring the matter to the attention of the Board. As a consequence of this incident, two children were withdrawn from the school but after much persuasion Bywater succeeded in getting them to return. After deliberating his future for two weeks, Parker decided to resign his post. However, this was not to take effect for another six months. There was a similar incident a few years later when Mrs. Darby complained that a teacher had ill-used her child. The child had been "struck on the hand for had behaviour in class."[57] However, on this occasion no-one resigned.

The entries made in the log book by Thomas Naylor show a remarkable lack of punishment records. It is highly improbable that Naylor, who was in charge of the school until 1914, did not resort to corporal punishment at some time. Bywater obviously kept control of the school with the cane. At the annual inspections during his term of office no mention was ever made regarding discipline within the school. However this was not so during Naylor's sojourn. In 1893 the Inspector thought that some form of drill would improve the discipline of the school.

From his entries in the log book Henry Bywater appeared to be continually under pressure. At one time his entry in the log book was almost a plea for help:

> Having only one teacher who can be responsible for a class I have found the pressure on myself almost more than I can bear.[58]

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56. East Howle Mixed School log book, 3 September 1879.

57. Ibid., 7 April 1885.

58. Ibid., 14 November 1884.

He was anxious for his pupils to do well and to this end he was continually testing both his staff and his pupils. During his time at the school he had several disagreements with his assistants about the quality of their work. In April 1882, Bywater noted that there were some backward boys in Standard II. He drew the attention of his assistant, William Green, to this matter and ordered him to keep the boys behind until they could at least repeat the 7, 8 and 9 times tables. However, Green appeared to take very little notice of Bywater's order because a month after the request he re-examined the children and found no improvement in them. He "cautioned the teacher and threatened to report him to the school committee unless improvement was shown before the next meeting."[59] This evidently had the desired effect because a fortnight later when the class was examined again Bywater found that "some attention had been paid to the points to which I had previously called attention."[60]

Shortly afterwards William Green resigned his post and he was replaced by Jacob Hull. Hull's attendance was very poor. During his stay of nine months he was absent on no fewer than five occasions. Whether he was genuinely ill or not is open to speculation. He, too, failed to match up to Henry Bywater's high standards. When Bywater examined Hull's class he found that although there had been slight progress the results were extremely unsatisfactory in both quantity and quality.

After Jacob Hull had resigned his post he was replaced by T. J. Laverick who, like his predecessors, also failed to meet Bywater's requirements. A month after his appointment his class was tested by Bywater who complained that the results were not very satisfactory. Laverick always seemed to be in a

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59. East Howle Mixed School log book, 19 April 1882.

60. Ibid., 25 April 1882.

great hurry to leave after school had been dismissed. Bywater thought that Laverick did not seem to realise his responsibility for the progress of his class.[61] Bywater found this attitude intolerable and he must have been greatly relieved when he received his copy of the Inspector's report and discovered that Laverick was not qualified as an assistant teacher. He was therefore not counted as part of the staff and was forced to resign his position immediately.

During the following four years Henry Bywater had to rely on the assistance of monitors and pupil-teachers. He did apply to the Board for additional help in April 1887. Unfortunately this assistance was not forthcoming until December of that year when George Graham commenced his duties as assistant teacher. He was given charge of Standards IV and V. At the beginning of the following year, Bywater made a special visit to each class. He found the results of Graham's division were far from satisfactory:

> The Arithmetic is very inaccurate also spelling and Grammar of Standard V.[62]

In March, Bywater again examined the various classes and once again he was very dissatisfied with Standards IV and V. The work was carelessly done. He also "examined the Dictation and Composition books of these standards, Standard IV very bad and Standard V disgraceful, showing marked deterioration. Have spoken to the teacher G. Graham very strongly."[63] This dissatisfaction of Bywater's continued. In April of the year James Keers commenced work as a monitor. Originally Bywater had intended to give Graham the use of the monitor, however, his management of the two standards was so unsatisfactory that Bywater himself retained the use of the monitor and he removed Standard V from the

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61. East Howle Mixed School log book, 15 June 1883.

62. Ibid., 20 January 1888.

63. Ibid., 23 March 1888.

care of George Graham and placed the class in his own division.

A few weeks later when the school re-opened after the Whitsuntide holiday George Graham did not present himself until 10 o'clock. Bywater spoke to him about his class which he had examined before the holidays. Graham told Bywater that he had no time to take Mental Arithmetic and the meaning of words. Bywater's reply to this statement is not recorded but it is open to speculation. The average number of pupils in the class was only 30. Obviously this tardiness upset Bywater so much that he reported the matter to two members of the school committee. It was decided to report the matter to the School Board.

George Graham was given the opportunity to defend himself at the Board meeting. His resignation was called for because of his conduct. Graham then had the audacity to ask for a testimonial. He threatened to report Henry Bywater to the Inspector unless he was given one. However, his bluff was called. On 18 June, George Graham was suspended from any further duties on the orders of the School Committee.

Henry Bywater's over-anxiety did pay dividends; throughout his eleven years stay in Tudhoe he did not receive a single poor report from the Inspectors. He was not the only person to suffer from over-anxiety. The headmistress of Tudhoe Colliery Infants' school, Miss Jameson, was also worried about her pupils' lack of progress:

> Drilled Standard I in arithmetic. The majority are very slow with subtraction. Gave an extra half hour to this.[64]

> Examined 1st and 2nd class. Result only fair in 1st class and unsatisfactory in 2nd. In the latter class of 26 children only 5 can add and subtract 1, 2, 3 and 4. 13 can read easy monosyllables, writing of the class from a copy is very fair but they cannot spell at all.[65]

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64. Tudhoe Colliery Infants' School log book, 1 July 1878.

65. Ibid., 12 December 1879.

Miss Jameson continued to worry about progress so much so that her health failed. After an enforced absence of four months she resigned her post in January 1881. Lot Squire was another head teacher who spent much of his time testing the children. He was afraid of being subjective and to this end he sent for friends to examine the classes and then asked for their opinion.[66]

In 1890 Henry Bywater resigned his post to take up a position elsewhere. Unfortunately no mention was made of the whereabouts of his new position but it cannot have been very far away as he was absent for only one day to attend the interview. The Board was very sorry to lose him and gave him a glowing testimonial. In his last entry in the log book he wrote,

> I wish to place on record my high appreciation of the way in which all the teachers have done their duty and the cordial and hearty way in which all have tried their utmost to carry out all my instructions.[67]

How his old adversaries would have reacted to this statement one can only wonder. Henry Bywater obviously did not see himself as others saw him. They saw him as an autocrat whilst he thought he was doing his best for the school. He was anxious to prove his ability as a teacher.

When looking for his replacement the Board chose not to advertise. Instead they simply transferred Thomas Naylor from Tudhoe Grange Board School. Naylor had served in East Howle Mixed School as a pupil-teacher before going to college. He was transferred there as a fourth year pupil-teacher in May 1884. A month later he was absent for four days to attend the scholarship examination. He must have failed the examination because the following year he was absent for the same reason. In 1886, he was absent yet again for the scholarship examination. During this time his status at school changed from

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66. Tudhoe Colliery Mixed School log book, 27 November 1893.

67. East Howle Mixed School log book, 4 November 1890.

pupil-teacher to assistant. Eventually in October 1887, he made a successful application for entry into Chester College. His father, William Naylor, stood as surety for him. At the age of 22 on his admission he must have been one of the oldest students at college. Whilst there his academic record was rather uninspiring. He achieved a second class pass in both his first and second year Scripture examinations, a second class pass in his first year Government examination and a third class pass in his second year Government examination.

When Thomas Naylor arrived in Chester the college was under the leadership of Principal A. J. C. Allen. He had been in charge for 18 months and during this time he had made several demands for improvements to the college. These demands put him at odds with the governors. He placed great emphasis on sporting prowess. It is unknown if Thomas Naylor took part in any of the rugby or soccer games but he seems to have been a rather subservient character with very little spirit or perhaps he knew his place in society and was prepared to stay there. Was he the epitome of Kay-Shuttleworth's humble teacher?

Naylor experienced little difficulty in finding employment on completion of his college course. He returned toTudhoe to take up the post of assistant at Tudhoe Grange Board School. From there he was transferred to the headship of East Howle Mixed School. He commenced his duties on 5 November 1890. Unlike many head teachers who took over he declared that he had "found the school in admirable order and the children well behaved."[68] One cannot help but wonder if he had perused the log book entries written by Bywater who had not been at all pleased with Naylor's teaching ability.

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68. East Howle Mixed School log book, 5 November 1890.

Throughout his teaching career Naylor always appears to have been the underdog. He was given a rise in salary long after the other head teachers. He was required to teach at the pupil-teacher centre, however, while the salaries paid to his contemporaries are recorded there is no record of his receiving any payment.

Perhaps his subservience was most clearly illustrated in October 1902. Elizabeth Reading, who was qualified under Article 50, received notice from the Clerk to the Board stating that she had been transferred to Tudhoe Grange Infants' School for a month. The following day she returned to school and stated that she had never taught infants and on the advice of her father she refused to go to Tudhoe Grange. Elizabeth Reading informed Naylor that she had written to the Clerk to that effect. Naylor strongly advised her to return to the school at least until she had received a reply from the Clerk. However, her father refused to allow her to go on any account. A month later Miss Reading received a letter from the Clerk stating that the Board no longer needed her services and requested that she tender her resignation. This was undoubtedly due to her refusal to go to Tudhoe Grange when asked by the Board.[69] It was noticeable that Miss Reading did not approach the National Union of Teachers to act on her behalf. However, they were early days in the union's history and it was not nearly so powerful as it is today. It was also a time when the School Boards were the supreme power. The Board was the employer and the teachers and other employers could complain as much as they wanted in private but they had to conform eventually. It is noticeable that Thomas Naylor offered Elizabeth no support. Was his position so tenuous that he was not going to jeopardize his career for anyone?

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69. East Howle Mixed School log book, 14 November 1902.

Eighteen months previous another assistant, Lilian Minto from Tudhoe Colliery Infants' School, had a confrontation with the Board. The Board decided to reorganize the schools at Tudhoe Colliery. As a result of this reorganization Lilian Minto's services were to be dispensed with although it was not stated when she was to resign.[70] The reorganization went ahead as planned and Miss Minto found that her services were required. When Standard I was transferred to the Mixed Department she was transferred along with them to teach that class.[71] There is no report of her defying the Board and perhaps that may account for her retaining her position. These reorganizations were nothing unusual. The Board was continually moving the assistant teachers and pupil-teachers around the schools. Perhaps they were trying to comply with their own staffing regulations which stated

> that when the average is over 150 and under 200 the staff shall consist of a head teacher, certificated assistant and pupil-teachers.[72]

Thomas Naylor remained at East Howle until 1914 when he was summoned to a meeting at Durham which had been convened by the County Education Committee. Presumably this meeting concerned his future, because three months later he was transferred to the headship of Broom School in Ferryhill. He ended his career at this school. On his retirement in December 1929, he was presented with a fluted oak electric reading lamp.[73]

When the School Board was first formed, most of the teachers appointed came from outside the area. Although some assistants came into the village, most had come up through the pupil-teacher ranks of Tudhoe Board

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70. Tudhoe Colliery Infants' School log book, 2 February 1901.

71. Ibid., 8 January 1902.

72. Tudhoe Colliery Mixed School log book, 11 May 1896.

73. Durham County Advertizer, 5 December 1929.

Schools. Whilst some were of great service to the Board, (Kate Ballan taught in Tudhoe Colliery Infants' School for 12 years) there were others who were of very little use. The infamous Annie Fleming began her teaching career as a pupil-teacher at Tudhoe Grange Girls' School in 1890. A year later she was transferred to Tudhoe Colliery Infants' School. Throughout the four years she spent there the head teacher constantly complained about her inability to teach. She was finally transferred to Tudhoe Colliery Mixed School in 1895. Lot Squire must have been more vociferous in his complaints because she was given three months notice in May 1896. This was rescinded and she was inflicted on Spennymoor School. However, her stay there was very short and she returned to the Colliery Mixed School where, much to Squire's delight, she left in September 1897.

Since the mid-nineteenth century the state has played a major part in controlling the supply and demand for teachers and has thereby influenced the level of their salaries. The state has been able to regulate the supply of teachers in two ways. It has been the chief supplier of provision made for their instruction and has manipulated the standards that it has been prepared to accept before granting teachers recognition.

Until 1846 the stereotyped elementary teacher was that of an inefficient, illiterate person who was good for nothing else. From 1846 to 1862, with government intervention, there was a sharp rise in the status of the teacher. This rise came up against an educational reaction which generated the stereotype of the teacher as over-educated and conceited and led to a deliberate lowering of the teachers' status. From 1862 until about 1920 the teachers' associations struggled for the improvement of the teachers' status. This struggle led to the belief that teachers were politically unscrupulous in the

pursuit of their professional ends. Added to this, from 1895 onwards the desire to improve the schools led to a belief that the existing teachers were under-educated and uncultured. By 1920 the elementary teachers had succeeded in securing the objective basis for an increase in status.

CHAPTER 6

THE CHANGING CURRICULUM

The elementary schools of the school board period were aiming to provide rudimentary education appropriate to the future needs of the children, both as to employment and social position. For parents and children alike school was an interlude before the real purpose of life began; if you were 'clever' you might even escape sooner and take your place in the world. As Flora Thompson notes: " 'What do our young Alf want wi' a lot o' book-larnin'?' they would say. 'He can read and write and add up as much money as he's ever likely to get. What more do he want.' "[1] This attitude remained prevalent for many years. The head-master of our school was moved to comment:

> Parents are evidently alive to the importance of children passing their Standards especially those who are anxious to get them to work. This seems to be a greater source of anxiety than the gaining of knowledge.[2]

However, ideas were slowly changing and new ideas were slowly percolating that children needed a good education to get on in the world.

For many children the curriculum consisted of reading, writing, arithmetic with needlework for girls and drawing for boys. Conservatism is always a strong force which ensures that much of what one generation does in school, the next will do also. Many items are therefore to be found in any curriculum because teachers and the society which employs them are rarely other than conservators of tradition. Some items in the curriculum

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1. Flora Thompson, Larkrise to Candleford, Oxford, 1945, p.176.

2. East Howle Mixed School log book, 17 October 1884.

remain almost unchanged in scope from one generation to another because they deal with universal and timeless fundamentals of human experience. Other items remain where they are in the curriculum for the simple reason that no-one has been sufficiently concerned to remove them. In the long run, however, in spite of this pervasive conservatism, schools do adjust their work in response to at least three other pressure groups or forces.[3] These three forces of curriculum change may be called the social, the educational-philosophic, and the subject-specialist forces.

These three forces operated in partial and differential ways to affect the evolution of a given syllabus. Take the history and geography teaching over the thirty years from 1875. The social force in the guise of Imperialism, supported those who in the 1870s and 1880s urged the introduction of geography as a school subject. Citizens of a great and growing imperial power, they said, should surely know something of their coloured subjects, and of the homes their brothers and cousins were establishing across the seas. In the 1890s educational-philosophic forces began to shape the syllabus. Froebel offered an approach to geography through neighbourhood studies. For the subject-specialist forces Herbart introduced some English teachers to the value of school journeys as an aid to geography teaching. A study of the available log books of Tudhoe School Board indicate that the Board members were traditionalists. There are numerous references to schools being closed for a whole day or for an afternoon to allow the children to attend the Sunday School treat, or the annual flower show and on one auspicious occasion to attend the Royal Show:

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3. R. D. Bramwell, Elementary School Work, 1900-1925, Durham, 1961, p. vii.

> Holiday given on Friday afternoon for the Church School Treat.[4]
>
> Owing to Tudhoe Flower Show the children were detained till 1 p.m. and dismissed for the day.[5]
>
> Closed the school yesterday for Darlington Royal Show.[6]

Although the children did go on day trips these were not under the auspices of the School Board. When Queen Victoria celebrated her Diamond Jubilee in 1897, a board member, James Dodd, asked if it would be possible to arrange for an excursion for the children to visit Durham Cathedral. When he originally posed his question he wanted the children to go as a commemoration of the Diamond Jubilee. However, he amended his question and wished the children to go "as a means of education."[7] The board members were reluctant to say whether or not the board could bear the cost of such an outing. At the next board meeting, held the following month, the Clerk reported that the "Board could not legally pay the expenses of taking the children to Durham Cathedral."[8]

In 1862, Robert Lowe, Vice-President of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education, was responsible for introducing the Revised Code. The Code set out the conditions on which grants were to be paid and stated specifically the contents of the elementary school curriculum. Robert Lowe promised Parliament that under this new system of payments education would be either cheap or efficient. It was a system which related the grant to the average attendance of the children and their performance in an examination. It became the duty of the inspectorate to examine, not merely inspect, the

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4. East Howle Mixed School log book, 8 August 1890.
5. East Howle Infant School log book, 17 August, 1892.
6. Ibid., 28 June, 1895.
7. Minutes of Tudhoe School Board, 2 April 1897.
8. Ibid., 7 May 1897.

achievements of the children in the three Rs, and, for girls, in needlework. A grant of 6s. 6d. per head was to be paid for the infant class on general efficiency. Above the age of six years the children were divided into six standards according to their ability. Each child in a standard could earn a grant of four shillings for general merit and attendance and eight shillings for passing the examinations in the three Rs. This grant was reduced for failure in any one subject. The syllabuses for these examinations were laid down.

The Code had a limiting effect and stopped the growth of the broader education which was then beginning to appear. From 1862 the Inspectors' reports cease to give the numbers of children studying specific subjects, and give instead, the percentage of passes in the examinations.

Robert Lowe achieved his alternative aim: his system was cheap. Within three years the annual national grant had been reduced by 25 per cent to £600,000 in spite of the fact that the number of children in schools had increased from 900,000 to more than one million. The number of pupil teachers decreased by more than 30 per cent, the average class size rose from 38 in 1862 to 43 in 1865.[9] Translated into twentieth century terms this was an attempt to increase the productivity of the teachers.

Teachers had no choice but to earn the maximum grant. Their livelihood depended on it, for grants were now paid to school managers, and a teacher's meagre salary was usually dependent to some extent on the size of the grant. In their efforts to earn the maximum grant, teachers narrowed the curriculum and concentrated on the examinable subjects. There was a reversion to drilling in the three Rs.

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9. Marian Johnson, Derbyshire Village Schools in the Nineteenth Century, Newton Abbot, 1970, p.100.

Although the Code did not exclude the teaching of other subjects, it nevertheless led to excessive concentration on the three Rs and to complaints by inspectors of mechanical teaching. Teachers, for their part, protested at the prescription of detailed syllabuses which restricted what could be taught. The Revised Code represented an advance in state control of education at the expense of the Church. The Code also attempted to grade the syllabus according to the age of the pupil; previously there had been no consensus on what was considered appropriate for pupils at various stages. The damage done to teaching methods and material was, however, recognized and within five years there was a slight easing of the regulations. In 1867 extra grants were offered to schools if they included at least one 'specific' subject (i.e. different from ordinary reading and book lessons), such as history, geography and grammar, in addition to the three Rs.

After the passing of the 1870 Education Act some relaxations to the rigidities of the 1862 Code began to be introduced. Schools could earn extra grant from 1868 for 'specific subjects' taught in addition to the three Rs, in 1871 a grant of three shillings was introduced for each child successful in an examination in not more than two such subjects, including geography, history, algebra, geometry, the natural sciences, political economy, languages, 'or any definite subject of instruction ... taught according to a graduated scheme'. Only about 2.3 per cent of children on the registers were presented in the specific subjects in the 1870s.[10] These specific subjects had to be taught "according to a graduated scheme of which the Inspector can report that it is well adapted to the capacity of the children and is sufficiently distinct from the ordinary reading

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10. J. Lawson and H. Silver, A Social History of Education in England, 1973, p. 329.

book lessons to justify its description as a specific subject of instruction."[11]

Hanging on the wall of every classroom was a timetable, framed in its permanence and rigidity, regarded with awe and served with all the respect due to laws made by the combined force of managers or Board and Department.

The powers given to inspectors to approve the timetable virtually meant the power to control it. An Education Department Minute of 7 February 1871 ordered the inspector to report to the Department if he found the work of the school not being carried out according to the approved timetable. A year later this was reinforced in a further circular stating that,

> no change may be made without the express sanction of the Inspector. This sanction ought not to be given ... except upon formal application from the Managers nor unless strong grounds for the change are shown.[12]

The managers were further warned that any neglect of the division of the timetable into its various components would entail a forfeiture of grants. Before any teacher could change the timetable she had to have the approval of the School Board. Once this had been obtained the H. M. I. had to sanction the amended timetable. In 1880 Mrs. Chisholm from Spennymoor Infants School had a delay of one month before putting her new timetable into operation, whilst the sanction of H. M. I. Bernays was sought.[13]

In these days of comparative freedom within the classroom it is sometimes difficult to understand the emphasis which nineteenth century teachers placed on the timetable. So much so that any event which prevented the school from working according to the timetable was duly recorded in the school log book:

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11. P. Gordon and D. Lawton, Curriculum Change in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, 1978, p. 14.

12. Circular 51, Timetables, 10 August 1872, quoted in P. Gordon and D. Lawton, op. cit., p. 141.

13. Minutes of Tudhoe School Board, 1 April 1880.

> The Probationer will assist the Mistress with the 5s and 6s, the timetable will not be able to be followed strictly.[14]

When the broader range of 'specific subjects' was introduced the Tory Vice-President of the Education Department, Lord Sandon, optimistically remarked, "by working into the mere mechanical reading a little grammar, physical geography, a little knowledge of the Geography of England, and a certain amount of history," it was thought that the mind of the child would not be over-burdened, and that the teaching would be rendered more lively.[15] This desire for more animated teaching was still prevalent thirty years later. After two successive examinations of Tudhoe Colliery Mixed School in 1900 and 1901 the Inspector reported that the children

> ... display greater activity of mind than they did. The teachers should be encouraged to persevere in order that all subjects may be taught with the success that is achieved in some.[16]

However, this alertness was not long-lasting because a year later the Inspector reported that

> ... more alertness and keenness might be shown in some of the classes.[17]

John Hurt thinks that the specific subjects introduced in 1875 provided a wider education for no more than a small minority of the children. Confined to children in Standards IV to VI they broadened the education of just over 3 per cent of those on the registers, 89,186 out of 2,943,774. From time to time the Department changed the regulations but the highest proportion of children tested in these subjects never rose above the 4.4 per cent of 1883,

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14. East Howle Infants School log book, 9 May 1904.

15. Pamela Horn, Education in Rural England, 1800-1914, Dublin, 1978, p.126.

16. Tudhoe Colliery Mixed School log book, 15 January 1901.

17. Ibid., 16 December 1901.

although there were thirty subjects to choose from in 1895 the proportion tested in them went down to 2.4 per cent.[18]

A further category, class subjects, came into existence when the 1875 Code transferred the popular subjects history, elementary geography and grammar to this new group. To earn a grant under this heading a school had to offer two subjects above Standard I. Since the obligatory needlework could be counted under this heading girls, in effect, could be restricted to one extra subject. By 1880 most schools were taking advantage of the offer with nine tenths of those eligible, 1,708,374 out of 1,876,105, having an education consisting of more than just the three Rs. The schools that contented themselves with a basic minimum, roughly 5 per cent with an average attendance of under 50, were mainly small rural ones.

The Code of 1882, the work of A.J. Mundella, Liberal Vice-President of the Council, added a Standard VII for grant-earning purposes. (By 1883 there was a Standard VII at East Howle Mixed School). It introduced a classification of schools as 'fair', 'good', or 'excellent', with three corresponding levels of merit grant; it extended the specific and class subjects, and encouraged school libraries and savings banks. New attitudes were being formulated, but the constriction of payment by results remained. The National Union of Elementary Teachers (which became the National Union of Teachers in 1889) had been conducting a prolonged and vigorous campaign against the system, wider concepts of educational processes were gaining currency - including among some key educational administrators - as was the view that educational finance needed to be more firmly related to the needs of schools. The result was that in 1890 payment by results was fundamentally

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18. J. Hurt, Elementary Schooling and the Working Classes, 1860-1918, London, 1979, p.180.

undermined, to the delight of the teachers. General inspection without notice was substituted for one on an appointed day. A small element in the grant per child, however, was still dependent on the inspector's examination. The examination of individual children in efficient schools was disappearing in the mid 1890s, and in 1893, inspectors were finally instructed that they should not include any of the processes heretofore employed in formal examination.[19]

With the ending of the system of annual examination in the 1890s and the abandonment of the division of the curriculum into obligatory, class and specific subjects, there were opportunities to experiment with more child-centred approaches. But the sudden vacuum caused by the relinquishing of central control left the elementary teacher in a difficult position. By long tradition bound down to rigid methods by successive codes, the teacher rejected some of the newer and more enlightened possibilities such as those advocated by Froebelians. Because of this tradition, the system of the German philosopher, J. F. Herbart appealed to many during the 1890s. His system stressed the importance of the teacher and the role of instruction in planning a curriculum. A Herbartian class lesson would consist of five stages: aim and preparation; the identification of the topic to be discussed; presentation, the central matter of the lesson; association, the connection between new facts presented and what was already known, formulation, general rules formulated for the whole lesson; and application, how to apply the rules to new situations.[20] The rigidity of the method was obvious even to the stoutest supporter. It called for a uniform and unvarying treatment of all branches of instruction: both the originality of the teacher and the spontaneity of the pupil

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19. J. Lawson and H. Silver, A Social History of Education in England, 1973, p. 329.

20. P. Gordon and D. Lawton, Curriculum Change in the Nineteenth Century, 1978, p. 146.

were suppressed. Perhaps the main criticism would be directed towards the artificial way in which the topic was chosen. Teachers had been accustomed to being treated as machines, everything was laid down, step by step, and suddenly they were asked to think for themselves. It is little wonder that many felt 'at sea'.

The philosophy of 1862, therefore, whatever its intentions, had a constricting effect on the schools. It was a long time after that date before the elementary school system began to respond to wider concepts of culture, to a more generous view of educational objectives. Lyon Playfair, one of the great names in science education, said of the schooling provided for the working class children in 1870: "What an equipment for the battle of life."[21] John Ruskin, one of the great names in the arts, proclaimed six years later:

> Commiserate the hapless Board School child, shut out from dreamland and poetry, and prematurely hardened and vulgarized by the pressure of codes and formularies. He spends his years as a tale that is not told.[22]

By the twentieth century some of the boards, especially the larger ones, had accomplished important changes, and new ideas were being acted upon. The board schools had for the most part implemented the principle of separate classrooms and long benches were gradually replaced by desks.

English appeared in the elementary school curriculum in the form of reading as the first basic requirement; in the public school curriculum English at first was subordinate to the classics and may not even have appeared on the timetable. The position of English in the curriculum is largely one of change: change in status, in content and in teaching style, and in the process of change the acquisition of a clearer set of aims.

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21. Quoted in J. Lawson and H. Silver, A Social History of Education in England, 1973, p. 330.

22. Quoted in Ibid., p. 330.

There are at least two important and interconnected ways of looking at English in the curriculum, how it came to be accepted as part of the curriculum and how the subject changed its identity not once but a number of times.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the curriculum which was considered most suitable for the 'lower order' was confined to reading, writing, ciphering and religion. English of a very rudimentary kind was therefore part of the basic curriculum of elementary schools. Whilst some felt that the instruction given should be deliberately restricted, others had a more enlightened view of what might be attained, especially if teachers of the right kind could be made available. This had the support of Matthew Arnold and other inspectors, and a curriculum for training colleges was devised which included literature for the teachers' own personal development and also some which might form the subject matter for elementary schools, but the English which began to develop was already distorted by formalism and teaching methods of public school classics teaching. The syllabus for training colleges included as suitable content for elementary school English language, grammar and literature, the classification and inflection of words, the analysis of simple sentences, syntactical parsing and paraphrasing.[23] The Newcastle Committee thought this syllabus was hardly conducive to forming a taste for reading amongst teachers.

Despite this kind of evidence the recommendations of the Newcastle Report resulted in the Revised Code of 1862 with a narrow and rigid curriculum governed by the 'payment by results' system. The Code did not require a child to be tested on a book previously studied nor did it require composition.

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23. P. Gordon and D. Lawton, Curriculum Change in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, 1978, p. 81.

There was some relaxation of the Code in 1867 when 'specific subjects' were introduced. These could be taught to individual pupils in the upper standards: both grammar and English literature could be offered as specific subjects. The syllabus for English literature in 1876 was as follows:

> First Year, 100 lines of poetry, got by head with knowledge of meaning and allusions. Writing a letter on a simple subject.
>
> Second Year, 200 lines of poetry, not before brought up, repeated, with knowledge of meaning and allusions. Writing a paraphrase of a passage of easy prose.
>
> Third Year, 300 lines of poetry, not before brought up, repeated with knowledge and meaning and allusions. Writing a letter or statement, the heads of the topics to be given by the Inspector.[24]

In 1882, however, English became a class subject and the syllabus was changed so that it became simply a study of grammar, once again the influence of public schools classics teaching.

By 1895 payment by results had largely disappeared and with it there was a slight swing away from a rigid grammatical approach to English, but the basis of parsing and analyzing still remained. The Victorian passion for mnemonic verse was used effectively to assist the children in remembering the parts of speech. The following jingle is an example of this:

> A noun is the name of anything,
> As hoop, or garden, school or swing.
> An adjective describes a noun,
> Small shoes, bright eyes, new gloves, green gown.
> A verb tells us what people do,
> They dance, she walks, he laughed, it flew

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24. P. Gordon and D. Lawton, Curriculum Change in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, 1978, p. 83.

An adverb tells how things are done,
We talk quietly, they quickly run.
An interjection shows surprise,
As Oh! how pretty, Ah! how wise.

Once each day every class would be called to read. This lesson could be extremely tedious and the Inspectors' reports on reading lessons frequently complained of the mechanical methods employed,so that pupils rarely related reading to their real world. Part of the problem was that reading was often left to inexperienced pupil teachers or even monitors. By the beginning of the twentieth century English in elementary schools was still usually a dull and arid exercise.

Reading was basic. The children's reading was often criticized for its lack of expression and even lack of understanding. To compensate for this the inspectors advised teachers to talk to the children about the meaning of what they read. Most reading consisted of mechanical chanting. Boredom could have been the reason for this. The headmistress of Tudhoe Colliery Infants School criticized one member of staff for failing to "make reading sufficiently interesting to gain the attention of the scholars."[25] But how could the endless chanting of the alphabet both backwards and forwards be interesting? Children were placed in the lowest possible standard in order to ensure passes in the examination. As a result reading material would not be adjusted to the ages and interests of the children. In 1880 the H. M. I. at his annual inspection recorded the following criticism: "Reading books are not of sufficient difficulty."[26] There are several references to the quality of reading in East Howle Mixed School:

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25. Tudhoe Colliery Infant School log book, 18 February 1880.

26. Tudhoe Colliery Infant School log book, 12 January 1880.

> The reading, though fluent, is still wanting in expression and there were a good many doubtful passes in this subject.[27]

> The reading in the upper standard is wanting in accuracy, attention to stops and expression.[28]

The rate of examination successes was always higher in reading than in writing and arithmetic. This was probably due to an over-familiarity with the books. This was also a cause of "fluency without interest". Indeed the children read and re-read the readers so many times that "long before their school-days were over they knew every piece in the books by heart and it was one of their greatest pleasures in life to recite them to each other."[29]

The reading books used in the schools belonging to the Tudhoe School Board did not vary. Once a set of readers had been purchased they were used continuously. Those used in Tudhoe were:

Standard I. Nelson's Royal Readers and sequels to Royal Readers.

Standard II. The same as Standard I.

Standard III and IV. Nelson's Royal Readers, Gill's Geographical Readers and Miss Young's Historical Readers.

Standard V, VI and VII. The same as Standards III and IV except where standard authors are required.[30]

The education authorities of the day worked on the premise that once children had been taught to read, they held the key to all knowledge. However, this was not so. If the children, by the time they left school could

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27. East Howle Mixed School log book, 1 February, 1886.

28. Ibid., 18 January, 1895.

29. Flora Thompson, Larkrise to Candleford, Oxford, 1945, p.175.

30. Minutes of Tudhoe School Board, 3 May, 1883.

read well enough to read the newspaper and perhaps an occasional book for amusement, and write well enough to write their own letters, they had no wish to go further. Their interest was not in books, but in life, and especially the life that lay immediately about them.[31]

Poetry learning by heart became compulsory for Standard IV and above in 1875, but many other standards shared the 'joys'. Recitation involved the endless memorising of a certain amount of prose or poetry. The Victorians had a passion for sentimentality. The following two poems are typical examples of this and were frequently included in the poetry syllabus.

The Blind Boy

Oh say, what is that thing called light
Which I must ne'er enjoy;
What are the blessings of the sight?
O, tell your poor blind boy!

You talk of wondrous things you see,
You say the sun shines bright;
I feel him warm, but how can he,
Make it day or night?

My day or night myself I make
Whene'er I sleep or play;
And could I ever keep awake
With me 'twere always day.

With heavy sighs I often hear
You mourn my hapless woe;
But sure with patience I can bear
A loss I ne'er can know.

Then let not what I cannot have
My cheer of mind will destroy;
Whilst thus I sing I am a king
Although a poor blind boy.

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31. Flora Thompson, Larkrise to Candleford, Oxford, 1945, p. 176.

Casabianca

The boy stood on the burning deck
Whence all but he are fled;
The flame that lit the battle's wreck
Shone round him o'er the dead.

Yet beautiful and bright he stood,
As born to rule the storm;
A creature of heroic blood,
A proud, though childlike form.

The flames rolled on - he would not go
Without his father's word;
That father, faint in death below,
His voice no longer heard.

He called aloud, "Say father, say
If yet my task is done!"
He knew not that the chieftain lay
Unconscious of his son.

"Speak, father", once again he cried,
"If I may yet be gone!"
And but the booming shots replied
And fast the flames rolled on.

Upon his brow he felt their breath,
And in his waving hair,
And looked from that lone post of death
In still yet brave despair.

And shouted but once more aloud,
"My father must I stay?"
While o'er him fast, through sail and shroud,
The wreathing fires made way.

They wrapt the ship in splendour wild,
They caught the flag on high,
And streamed above the gallant child
Like banners in the sky.

There came a burst of thunder-sound
The boy - ah, where was he?
Ask the winds that far around
With fragments strewed the sea.

With mast, and helm, and pennon fair,
That well had borne their part -
But the noblest thing that perished there
Was that young, faithful heart!

A typical poetry syllabus was as follows:

Standard I.	The parrot and the crows.
Standard II.	Casabianca.
Standard III.	The Chameleon.
Standard IV.	The Inchcape Rock Hohenlinden
Standards V and VI.	Prisoner of Chillow.[32]

Twenty years later the poetry syllabus still contained the usual sentimental poems:

Standard I.	Santa Claus The Bird's Nest
Standard II.	The Sea Break, break, break
Standard III.	After Blenheim
Standard IV.	Solitude The Burial of Sir John Moore
Standard V.	The Old Cavalier Breathes there a man
Standards VI and VII.	The Old Cavalier Napoleon's Farewell Breathes there a man[33]

All poems for examination had to be approved by the Inspectorate, and these men were constantly advocating greater use of classical authors. On occasions Arthur Bernays substituted the teacher's choice for one of his own.

Neat, flowing handwriting was a highly-rated skill, so that from the very beginning of school life, a considerable portion of the timetable was given over to the subject. Drawing with a skewer in a shallow layer of sand in a

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32. East Howle Mixed School log book, 29 November 1883.

33. Ibid., 29 November 1903.

tray was the first introduction to forming letters. Slates and slate pencils replaced the sand trays in the next stage of development. Pencils and paper were used in the next stage, with pen and ink as the ultimate goal. Copybooks were used, containing sentences to be copied in immaculate copperplate, demonstrating the 'light up-strokes, heavy down-strokes' which the children were taught to employ. In the early copybooks proverbs and precepts were the most popular material, for no opportunity for moral training must be lost. The schools in Tudhoe used copybooks to practise their handwriting. All standards used the same books; Gills' Whitehall and Collins Round Hand Writers.[34]

The development of mathematics in the curriculum is a good example of the 'two traditions' in English education. In the public schools, the pursuit of abstract truths favoured the teaching of geometry and algebra, whereas the elementary schools which laid stress on the practical arts, looked for competence in arithmetical processes.

Arithmetic was considered, from early times, to be a separate and lower branch of mathematics. There were a number of reasons for the low status of arithmetic. Perhaps the main one was the excessive emphasis placed on the purely utilitarian value of the subject and its use for commercial purposes. This effectively isolated it from other branches of mathematics and it became the hallmark of elementary education. It is not surprising to find, therefore, that the public schools tended to discourage the teaching of arithmetic. Methods of computation had remained unchanged since the Middle Ages: the Treasury was still using the tally in 1826.

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34. Minutes of Tudhoe School Board, 3 February 1887.

Well before 'payment by results' was introduced, textbooks were produced such as those of James Trotter, published in 1853 and containing 3,400 exercises, and J.W. Colenso, whose 1862 edition introduced trillions and quadrillions on the first page. The imposition of 'standards' from 1862 in elementary schools made for a more mechanical teaching approach in order to obtain good results.

P.B. Ballard, a mathematics inspector of the London County Council in the early part of the twentieth century, analysed the state of arithmetic under this system:

> The golden age of accuracy was the period of payment by results, the duel between the inspector and teacher reaching its most acute stage about 1890. It was then that the teacher seems to have arrived at the highest stage of strategic skill ...
>
> The test for each standard consisted of four sums - three 'rule' sums and a problem. The rule sums for a given standard remained constant in type and fairly constant in difficulty from year to year. The problems were by no means complex and made less demand on the intelligence of the examiners than the problems set at Junior County School Examinations. The tests often involved very large numbers and called for considerable accuracy in computation. Standard IV seems to have borne the biggest burden of figures. The three rules for this standard were reduction of money, weights and measures and multiplication and division of money ...
>
> (The classteacher) prepared his children during the whole year for an examination of narrow and easily predictable limits. And the time he devoted to it was vastly greater than the time now allowed for arithmetic. There were as rule two lessons per day - one each session ...
>
> The so-called 'problem' was either neglected altogether or was practised during the last three months of the year. Two sums out of four would secure a pass: why then trouble about the problem? I know of one teacher who conceived the idea that if two out of three rules were thoroughly taught, both the third rule and the problem could be left to chance. She went one better than her colleagues in the policy of narrowing, and two better than the Education Department. And it paid, for she obtained the coveted

hundred per cent for several years in succession.[35]

The schools in Tudhoe were given a choice of two arithmetic books. They could choose between Chambers Merchants or Collins Arithmetics.[36] However, once the choice had been made only one series was to be used in each department. This evidently proved to be successful because the Inspector was able to report:

> Arithmetic is very accurate throughout the school and is fairly skilful.[37]

During the last decades of the nineteenth century geographers of high standing in this country propounded a modern philosophy of their special study. The notion at the core of their philosophy was that men and environment everywhere interacted. From the late 1880s onwards, with the publication of Gekie's surprisingly 'modern' The Teaching of Geography this new central philosophical notion of geography was at least implicit in method text-books designed for teachers; yet it was singularly slow to affect the geography taught in elementary schools. Geography was a matter of 'definitions', 'capes and bays' and topographical detail, the learning of which contributed nothing towards an understanding of the interaction of man and environment.[38] After the relaxation of the Revised Code in 1867 geography was introduced as a 'specific' subject for grant-earning purposes. The Cross Commission considered it essential to include geography in the curriculum of the elementary school. The Inspectors obviously agreed with these sentiments.

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35. P.B. Ballard, "On the Alleged Decline in Arithmetic Accuracy in Elementary Schools, A Defence, a Criticism and a Few Digressions", quoted in P. Gordon and D. Lawton, Curriculum Change in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, 1978, p.93.

36. Minutes of Tudhoe School Board, 3 May 1883.

37. East Howle Mixed School log book, 28 February 1887.

38. R.D. Bramwell, Elementary School Work, 1900-1925, Durham, 1961, p.28.

During an annual inspection the Inspector reported that: "Geography must not be neglected."[39]

Instructions to inspectors show the Department's concern to wean teachers from a soul-destroying mechanical approach to their teaching. The geography syllabus was to start with the children making a plan of the school and the playground. Each school had to have a globe and good maps of the county and immediate neighbourhood of the school. The teacher had to know the existence of a few near and familiar places. Teachers were encouraged to mark the meridian line of true north on the floor of the classroom so that children could learn the points of the compass in relation to the school. Geography was introduced in East Howle Mixed School in 1881. The syllabus for that year was as follows:

Standard II.	Definitions illustrated by a map of the world. Points of the compass.
Standard III.	England and Wales with special knowledge of County Durham.
Standard IV.	Ireland and Scotland.
Standard V.	Motions of the earth. Latitude and longitude and the zones of Europe.
Standard VI.	Asia, Africa, North and South America, Australia, Australasia with special reference to the British possessions.[40]

This schedule, with modifications, was the essence of the geography syllabus throughout the school board period.

Standard I.	Elementary notions of the geography of the surrounding district.

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39. East Howle Infants School log book, 27 February 1885.

40. East Howle Mixed School log book, 8 November 1880.

Standard II. District and County with explanation of the geographical terms as they occur. General idea of the division of land and water. The size and shape of the earth.

Standard III. Outlines of physical and political geography of England.

Standard IV. Outlines of the geography of the principal countries of Europe. The causes of day and night. Latitude and longitude.[41]

Only since the beginning of the present century has history featured as a common subject in the curricula of English elementary schools. Official figures show that in 1890 no more than 414 schools or departments in the entire country provided history courses. By 1895 that number had risen to 3,597, and in the last year of the nineteenth century 72 out of a total of 310 Northumbrian schools presented history as a class subject.[42]

Although the schools in Tudhoe did not introduce history into their curriculum until 1900 this did not mean that the children knew nothing of the history of England. History was not taught formally, but history readers were in use. These contained such stories as 'King Alfred and the Cakes', 'King Canute commanding the waves", 'The Loss of the White Ship', and 'Raleigh spreading his cloak for Queen Elizabeth'.[43]

During this time the history syllabus underwent great changes. At the end of the Victorian age history consisted of "stories chosen on account of their vividness on the one hand and their simplicity on the other."[44] The stories and biographies worked chronologically forward from the ancient Britons to great

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41. Tudhoe Colliery Mixed School log book, 2 October 1903.

42. R. D. Bramwell, Elementary School Work, 1900-1925, Durham, 1961, p. 39.

43. Flora Thompson, Larkrise to Candleford, Oxford, 1945, p. 174.

44. G. R. Batho, "Sources for the history of history teaching in elementary schools, 1833-1914", in T. G. Cook (ed.) Local Studies and the History of Education, 1972, p. 140.

inventions, and for those who stayed at school long enough, the Crimean War, the Indian Mutiny and the growth of the colonies. At Tudhoe Colliery Mixed School, Standard III were taught twelve stories and biographies from the earliest times to A. D. 1066. Standard IV heard twenty stories and biographies from A. D. 1066 to A. D. 1485. Standards V and VI were told twenty stories and biographies from A. D. 1688 to the present day.[45] In the early 1900s the 'concentric' method gained popularity in place of the 'periodic' method in an attempt to avoid overloading with details but by the close of Edward VII's reign many schools had compromised between the two systems. In the middle of the elementary schools the children studied periods whilst they reviewed the whole course of English history in the top class.[46]

Once again the Victorian passion for mnemonic verse was used to help the children remember the kings and queens of England after 1066:

> Willie, Willie, Harry, Stee,
> Harry, Dick, John, Harry three,
> One, two, three Edwards, Richard two,
> Henry four, five, six, then who?
> Edward four, five, Dick the bad,
> Harry twain and Ned the Lad
> Mary, Bessie, James the vain,
> Charlie, Charlie, James again,
> William and Mary, Anne Gloria,
> Four Georges, William and Victoria.

In an attempt to eliminate the recital of tedious detail during the lessons, teachers had to agree their syllabus for the year with the inspectorate. As well as encouraging visits to places of interest that related to the lessons, inspectors were also asked to promote the use of public libraries by urging school teachers to take their children around them.[47]

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45. Tudhoe Colliery Mixed School log book, 21 September 1903.

46. G. R. Batho, "Sources for the history of history teaching in elementary schools, 1833-1914" in T. G. Cook (ed.) Local Studies and the History of Education, 1972, p. 140.

47. J. Hurt, Elementary Schooling and the Working Classes, 1860-1918, 1979, p. 183.

When singing was first introduced into the elementary school curriculum it caused some consternation. It was first encouraged negatively, by a reduction in the grant for its absence. Later it was encouraged positively by the payment of a grant. In the early days it was taught by ear, teaching by note came later. This was introduced by the Code of 1882, when a grant of one shilling was offered for the teaching of singing by note. Presumably the children in Tudhoe learned to sing by note but the earliest reference to this was not until 1904 when all standards were learning to sing by tonic solfa.[48] The Department's manipulation of the grant system to encourage singing by note brought many protests from teachers.

According to Davies[49] class singing in Barnsley schools was taken as a reward for satisfactory attendance and behaviour. However, the children in Tudhoe schools were not so fortunate. They were deprived of singing on several occasions. The singing lessons were given over to drilling in the three Rs:

> Have kept Standard I from the singing lesson to give them extra drill in spelling.[50]
>
> Standard I had arithmetic instead of singing this week.[51]
>
> The bad readers in Class II had an extra lesson during the singing lesson.[52]
>
> No singing will be taken on Monday owing to the absence of the pupil teachers at the centre.[53]

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48. Tudhoe Colliery Mixed School log book, 9 October 1903.

49. Miss A. M. Davies, Education for Working Class Children in Barnsley during the nineteenth century with particular reference to the Barnsley School Board, unpublished M. Ed. Durham, 1969, p. 220.

50. Tudhoe Colliery Infants School log book, 8 September 1882.

51. Ibid., 22 June 1883.

52. Ibid., 26 September 1884.

53. Tudhoe Colliery Mixed School log book, 27 October 1899.

Singing was usually accompanied by the piano or harmonium. Although some schools in Tudhoe had musical instruments not all were so lucky: "The Board would do well to supply a musical instrument."[54] Unlike the children in Barnsley who were given the opportunity of hearing a mandolin player, who received hearty applause[55] the children of Tudhoe were somewhat deprived. No visiting musician performed in any school.

Many of the songs taught in infants schools were nursery rhymes, many of which are still popular today, whilst those taught in the 'senior' schools reflected the sentiments of the time:

Second division

Song of the monkeys
Tell me pretty river
The Ladybird
The Millwheel
Over the Snow

Third division

If I were a sunbeam
Catch the sunshine
The happy schoolgirl
My native land
Patriotic song

Fourth division

Why chime the bells so merrily
The old folks at home
Hearts and homes
Sleighing song
The moon behind the hill[56]

One of the principal features of the social scene in late Victorian England was a giant crusade against poverty. The effect of that crusade upon the curriculum of the elementary schools led immediately to pressure

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54. Tudhoe Colliery Infants School log book, 28 January 1889.

55. Miss A. M. Davies, Education for Working Class Children in Barnsley during the nineteenth century with particular reference to the Barnsley School Board, unpublished M. Ed., Durham, 1969, p. 221.

56. East Howle Mixed School log book, 12 November 1895.

in favour of the introduction of domestic subjects for girls. Cookery, laundry work and other domestic subjects found vigorous and vocal advocates among social reformers who hoped that girls who learnt them would carry home day to day knowledge of better and more economical household practices. At the same time, early advocates of the teaching of domestic subjects had an eye to the future; they expected that girls who learnt housecraft at school would turn out to be more careful and more thrifty housewives than their mothers. Domestic economy was one of the first subjects to be added to the three rudiments in the curriculum of elementary schools. Now while it was a practical subject in the 'learning what was useful' sense, it was certainly not practical in the 'learning by doing' sense. What teachers taught was at first wholly confined to theory, usually with the help of Domestic Science readers. However, as school life lengthened and material resources accumulated educationalists persuaded the Department of Education to introduce a practical syllabus.

In 1875 the Department allowed girls to attend cookery lessons in school time. Seven years later it gave direct encouragement by offering a grant for the teaching of cookery. A girl had to be over the age of twelve and to attend lessons for forty hours, of which twenty had to be practical work, a year. This compared unfavourably with the four hours a week, 160 a year, that girls normally spent on needlework. Unfortunately the Education Department had encouraged the development of cookery lessons without first ensuring that there were sufficient and adequately trained teachers. In the early years schools relied on teachers trained privately in cookery schools. Cookery was taught at special centres fed by a number of different schools. This naturally had the effect of isolating the work from the rest of the curriculum.

It was not until 1894 that the girls in Tudhoe received any cookery lessons. In that year the School Board allocated two rooms for cookery, one at Tudhoe Grange School and the other at East Howle Mixed School. When the room at the latter school was under preparation some degree of disruption was caused:

> On account of Standard II rooms undergoing alterations, in preparation for the Cookery Classes, that class has been taken in the Infants School on Thursday and Friday.[57]

Because of the size of the classes the girls were divided into small groups to facilitate better instruction:

> Girls commenced Cookery Lessons on Thursday morning at Tudhoe Grange School cookery room taking a demonstration lesson in the morning from 10 to 12 and eighteen of Standard VI attending in the afternoon from 2 to 4 at a practice lesson.[58]

In order to qualify for the grant of four shillings the girls had to have the required number of lessons. The attendance of the older girls was somewhat irregular, consequently towards the end of the cookery course entries such as the following can be found in the school log books:

> Some of the girls who have not completed the cookery lessons went to cookery class on Monday and Wednesday.[59]
>
> Four girls are still attending cookery class not having finished the course of lessons.[60]
>
> Two girls are still attending cookery classes.[61]

As befits a room where food is prepared, cleanliness was of the essence. The room was not always up to the required standard as can be seen from this entry:

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57. East Howle Mixed School log book, 6 April 1894.
58. Tudhoe Colliery Mixed School log book, 23 February 1903.
59. Tudhoe Colliery Mixed School log book, 18 February 1901.
60. Ibid., 25 February 1901.
61. Ibid., 4 March 1901.

> The floor of the cookery room was very badly swept on Thursday night. Most of the dust was to be seen lying on the floor on Friday morning. A complaint has been made to the caretaker.[62]

This complaint must have had the desired effect as no further mention was made to the state of the room.

No sooner had cookery become firmly established than teachers pressed the claims of laundrywork to a place in the curriculum of girls' schools, and the Department recognized it for grant in the Code of 1890. It was sometimes discovered that girls taking cookery and laundrywork often displayed clumsiness and were unable to carry out simple cleaning operations. The teachers suggested that there should be preparatory courses in housewifery. This subject was recognized in the Code of 1897. The Department, however, offered no special grant for housewifery, and restricted its teaching to schools already in receipt of grants for cookery and laundrywork.

After 1870 important advances were made in the field of physical education. The Code of 1871 introduced 'Military Drill' into the curriculum of elementary schools. In 1875, William Jolly, H. M. I., was complaining that "systematic physical education has been altogether ignored until quite recently, in our common schools." By the end of the century, however, various forms of drill and physical exercise had become an established part of school life. The children of Tudhoe did not receive any form of physical education until 1893, when an inspector commented:

> The introduction of systematic drill of some kind or other would be beneficial to the children and improve the discipline of the school.[63]

Having received this criticism the Board had to act on it or face the consequences. They appointed a retired sergeant major to the position.

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62. East Howle Mixed School log book, 25 September 1903.

63. East Howle Mixed School log book, 17 February 1893.

Sergeant Major Beechinor began his duties shortly afterwards: "The children commenced military drill on Monday from 10 to 12."[64] Sergeant Beechinor proved to be highly competent. He led a squad of ten boys and ten girls of Tudhoe Colliery Mixed School to victory in a Drilling Competition. The team won a Challenge Shield to be held by the school for a year and the twenty competitors each won a shilling.[65]

Some curriculum developments were the subject of extensive discussion. The object lesson, for example, was emphasized not only in timetables, but in the writings about the principles of education which were an important feature of the decades. The phrase was used sometimes to mean simple demonstrations in science, sometimes to mean using concrete examples to convey abstractions (especially in number work), and sometimes as a process of discrimination among colours, forms and so on. Object lessons were taught to the infants and Standards I, II and III. All topics for the object lessons had to be approved by the inspectors. At East Howle Infants School the topics were divided into the following four categories: animals, natural products, common objects and miscellaneous. A typical syllabus was:

Animals		Natural Productions	
Owl	Eagle	Salt	Gold
Lion	Hen	Sugar	Tea
Ostrich	Goat	Iron	Coal
Dog	Hare	Leather	Rice
Duck	Camel		

64. East Howle Mixed School log book, 5 May 1893.

65. Tudhoe Colliery Mixed School log book, 6 June 1904.

Common Objects			Miscellaneous	
Money	Bread		Farmyard	Rain
Apple	School slate		Haymaking	Clothing
Chair	Paper	Tree	Umbrella	Sea
Tallow	Candle		Hairbrush	
Bookmaker's Shop			Railway station	
Blacksmith's Shop			Laying a tea table[66]	
Form and colour				

As can be seen from these lists of lessons they frequently included everyday activities such as making a bed or setting a teatable. One inspector from Derbyshire particularly favoured infant lessons on household objects and suggested to the teacher that a forty minute lesson could very profitably be spent on the chair.[67]

In some schools object lessons were given by the pupil teacher:

> Superintended giving of lesson of Standard II by 2nd year pupil teacher on 'The root and its work'.[68]

Although these object lessons were the forerunners of science itself, the subject was becoming more widely taught by peripatetic teachers. Previous to the Royal Commission on Technical Instruction in 1884 and 1886 the majority of pupils in elementary schools received little or no science in their curriculum. In 1899 elementary science was introduced into the curriculum at East Howle Mixed School. At that time the syllabus consisted of the following:

Standard I Circular 369, Section II a, b, c.

Standard II Circular 369, Section VI a, b, c.

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66. East Howle Infants School log book, 18 January 1892.

67. Marion Johnson, Derbyshire Village Schools in the Nineteenth Century, Newton Abbot, 1970, p. 175.

68. Tudhoe Colliery Mixed School log book, 23 March 1903.

Standard III Circular 369, Section VII a, b, c.[69]

At Tudhoe Colliery Mixed School, the elementary science lessons consisted of thirty lessons on common objects.[70]

By the mid 1890s the Education Department had produced an expanded Revised Code which gave teachers more opportunity to engage in more lively teaching than they had twenty five years earlier. The Department urged schoolmasters to use their new found freedom. To cater for a new need educational suppliers began to put chests containing specimens for object lessons on the market. Some of the recommendations of the Department were that the child should count the rings of a felled tree to estimate its age (rather difficult to achieve in an inner-city school); grow mustard on a flannel; collect, press and label leaves and flowers; and these are still acted on today. Alongside object lessons were 'suitable occupations'. These included: modelling, simple geometrical drawing, weaving, plaiting, building with cubes, drill, singing, recitations and other exercises "such as will relieve the younger children, especially during the afternoon, from the strain of ordinary lessons, and train them to imitate and observe." These occupations did not escape the critical eye of the Inspector. In 1885 Arthur Bernays noted that the occupations at East Howle Infants School, "... though fine as far as they go are by no means sufficient."[71] He reported in a similar vein of the occupations practised at Tudhoe Colliery Infants School, "The occupations are not yet sufficiently varied."[72] However, his successor,

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69. East Howle Mixed School log book, 31 October 1898.

70. Tudhoe Colliery Mixed School log book, 9 October 1903.

71. East Howle Infant School log book, 29 January 1886.

72. Tudhoe Colliery Infant School log book, 25 January 1886.

Henry Brown, was more impressed when eleven years later he was able to report that "the kindergarten occupations are varied and attractive."[73] Unfortunately, he had not been as impressed the previous year at East Howle Infants School when he reported, "the occupations practised by the younger children might be more educative in their character."[74]

Though 'Temperance' cannot be called a part of the curriculum, it is mentioned so frequently in school log books and had so much significance for Board School children that an account of Board School education would be incomplete without some reference to the subject.

On several occasions the School Board invited Mr. J. Addison of Leeds, Lecturer to the United Kingdom Band of Hope Union to give a lesson to the children in the upper standards of the schools:

> On Monday afternoon, by permission of the Board Mr. Addison of Leeds, gave a lecture on 'Intoxicating Drinks' to Standards IV, V, VI and VII from 3.15 to 4. On Tuesday afternoon during the composition lesson the children of Standards V, VI and VII wrote an essay on the substance of the lecture, certificates being promised to those who wrote a satisfactory one.[75]
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> 47 certificates were presented to those children who had gained them for their essay on 'Alcoholic Drinks'.[76]

A study of the school board system from 1870 to 1903 shows that, as a body, it formed a powerful pressure group, often able to challenge the Education Department. In the urban areas the boards were large and could recruit influential figures. These larger boards were able to devote themselves to a number of curriculum issues and were able to weld themselves together into an effective pressure group. The restrictive nature of the annual code

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73. Tudhoe Colliery Infant School log book, 25 January 1886.

74. East Howle Infant School log book, 24 January 1896.

75. East Howle Mixed School log book, 6 March 1896.

76. Ibid, 17 March 1896.

was the board's main target. Broadly, two methods were available to them: exchange of information to ascertain like-mindedness and national representation. With regard to the former method, views on various topics affecting their operations were circularized by like-minded boards. Visits to board schools in other areas assisted in disseminating information. The Bradford School Board authorized its two superintendents of schools to visit London, and their subsequent report was discussed by the Board. As a result, better methods of teaching and a more advanced curriculum for older scholars were introduced.[77]

Only after the Code of 1900 were teachers finally liberated from constraints. This Code abolished all piecemeal grants. Instead schools received capitation grants of seventeen shillings for infants and twenty-two shillings for older children.

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77. P. Gordon and Denis Lawton, Curriculum Change in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, 1978, p. 209.

CHAPTER 7

THE RELIGIOUS ISSUE

By the end of the 1860s the political climate was exceptionally favourable to educational advance. The death of Lord Palmerston in 1865 had completed the emancipation of the Liberal party and Gladstone, the new leader, was eager for reform. While in power, the Conservatives, under the leadership of Disraeli, had succeeded in enfranchising the urban proletariat.

This was an age of fierce sectarian rivalry. Throughout the 'sixties until 1868 the energies of the Dissenters were channelled into the struggle against Church rates. Afterwards, their objective was Disestablishment. The Second Reform Act, by enfranchising the ranks from which many Nonconformists were drawn, greatly strengthened their power and influence. In fighting for their rights against a privileged State Church they became automatically the champions of the under-privileged working class.

That there was a need for elementary education was generally admitted; the real clash of opinion was on the religious issue. Much has been said of the "religious problem". Yet this religious problem never had as great an impact on the parents as it had on those who organized and built the denominational schools. It was usual in the nineteenth century to find children of various denominations in the voluntary schools of one denomination, although it was not quite so common to find Protestant children in Roman Catholic schools, for the simple reason that where there existed a Roman Catholic school there were usually one or more Protestant schools, the latter out-numbering the former by as many as nine to one.[1] There was plenty of evidence to suggest that the majority of parents cared little about the type

1. R. Pallister, "Determinants of Elementary Attendance about 1850", Durham Research Review, Vol. V, No. 23, Autumn, 1969, p. 386.

of religious training their children received. The Newcastle Commissioners had reported that

> their (the parents) selection of a school, in so far as it is affected by the character of instruction, seems rather to be determined more by the efficiency with which such things tend to the advancement in life of the children who are taught in it and by its general tone and discipline.[2]

This was also the experience of Her Majesty's Inspectors, who found children of Church parents attending British Schools and children of Nonconformist parents attending Church schools.[3] There was undoubtedly discrimination in the case of individuals, but this was magnified by sectarian enthusiasts.

The religious census of 1851 had shown that vast numbers of people were not attending any church. However, in his report on the census of 1851, Horace Mann estimated that nearly half of the population of England and Wales were Dissenters. In County Durham this figure was even higher at 54 per cent.[4] Many of these had not only migrated from the traditional Nonconformist areas of Wales and Devon but Scottish influence and immigration had created substantial support for Presbyterianism.[5] There was also a considerable increase in the number of Roman Catholics due to the immigration of Irish labour particularly in the years following the Irish famine.

The Report of the Newcastle Commission in 1861 showed that 76 per cent of children in schools attended Church of England schools but only 46 per cent attended their Sunday Schools, from which it could be argued, though not conclusively, that some 30 per cent of Dissenters' children were subject to

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2. Marjorie Cruickshank, Church and State in English Education, 1870 to the Present Day, 1963, p. 21.

3. Ibid., p. 21.

4. B. I. Coleman, The Church of England in the Mid-Nineteenth Century, 1980, p. 40.

5. Ibid., p. 13.

Church of England pressures.[6] Indeed many of those questioned by the assistant commissioners of the Newcastle Commission thought that the religious question was of very little importance to parents. Rev. J. G. Cromwell went on to say,

> Parents are not half so suspicious and sensitive on the religious question as M. P. s seem to fancy.[7]

The Roman Catholics found it even more difficult than the Nonconformists to educate their children. They attached even more importance to dogmatic religious teaching than the Churchmen. A Roman Catholic Inspector of Schools in 1860 reported that some Protestant millowners enforced the half-time attendance of their child employees in their own Protestant mill schools.

> Many Catholic children, thus compelled to attend, abstain from learning anything for fear of learning that which is objectionable.[8]

There were some employers who were content to take the school pence while allowing the children to attend Catholic schools. However, this meant that the school fees had to be paid twice and not many parents could afford this luxury. If the child did not pay his school pence to the employer then he was dismissed. Roman Catholic schools had to be financed very differently from the schools of other denominations for, unlike the Anglicans, who could rely a good deal on subscriptions and endowments, and unlike the Nonconformists, who could charge higher fees, the Roman Catholics had few resources save the pence of the poor, collected by regular house to house visitation. It was a considerable achievement that they had some 350 State aided schools although these were often hard pressed to meet the Government requirement that funds

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6. E. E. Rich, The Education Act, 1870, 1970, p. 29.

7. Report of the Newcastle Commission, Vol. 2, p. 429.

8. Quoted in E. E. Rich, The Education Act, 1870, 1970, p. 41.

raised locally should be equivalent to the Government grant.[9]

One of the major issues which divided Nonconformists and members of the established church in the nineteenth century was the method of financing and administering elementary education. The passage of the Elementary Education Act in 1870 was an attempt by Gladstone's Government to provide a compromise solution to this problem by allowing the voluntary denominational schools, most of which were operated by the established church, to remain in existence supported in part by a Parliamentary grant. In areas where there was a deficiency of educational facilities, the Education Act required the creation of school boards to provide schools financed out of local rates.

W. E. Forster had the task of formulating an education bill. Any legislation which he wished to introduce would have to take account of the standpoints of the various groups. However, he was of the grossly mistaken opinion that the religious issue had been greatly over-rated and, as he told his constituents, he hoped to canter over "a difficulty which he believed existed in the minds of the talkers and not in the minds of the educators and parents."[10]

As Forster prepared his Bill, opinion in the country polarized around two large pressure groups. The first group to enter the field was the National Education League with George Dixon, M. P., as president and Birmingham as its headquarters. The National Education Union was founded almost immediately after the League with the specific intention of opposing it. Its headquarters were in Manchester and it had a lengthy list of vice-presidents including Cowper-Temple. The League and the Union were agreed in end and objective, i.e. the establishment of a system which would secure the education of every child in the country. The question was not whether the work shall be

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9. Marjorie Cruickshank, Church and State in English Education, 1870 to the Present Day, 1963, p. 19.

10. Ibid., p. 22.

done or left undone, but simply, by what means the work which must be done, can best to done. The platform of the League was free, unsectarian and compulsory education supported by local rates, supplemented by Government grants. The management of the schools would be under the control of local boards elected by ratepayers. The League had the support of the extremist Nonconformists, Liberals and Trade Unionists. The Union for its part wished to 'amend', 'extend' or 'supplement' the denominational system. It admitted that in the poor destitute districts an educational rate might be necessary and it was also in favour of compulsion but it would apply it indirectly. The Union also wished to protect Church schools. The League aimed at superseding the 'denominational' system pronouncing it to a great extent a failure. The Union retorted that the denominational system had been a success, and that the onward march of education had been more retarded by meanness on the part of the government than by any lack of vitality or elasticity in the system. It was Forster's task to force a compromise from these two extremes.

Before 1870 public elementary schools had been provided by voluntary agencies. The managers of a particular school had provided religious instruction and required religious observance to be held in accordance with the beliefs of the denomination providing the school. Thus, the problem which faced the supporters of Forster's Education Act was how to ensure that effective religious instruction was given and religious observances held, which did not show alignment to any particular creed, which would not interfere with the wishes of any parent regarding the religious instruction of his child and which would be acceptable to the opponents of the 1870 Act. These opponents declared that it was wrong to provide schools from public money at which children would be required to attend and where they would be receiving religious instruction as an integral part of the syllabus.

However, religion was all important in the 1870 House of Commons and

> almost every aspect of the Bill was looked at through religious spectacles, through the eyes of denominational and sectarian jealousy and fear. Into the religious difficulty drained all the passions, convictions, principles and antagonisms of conflicting groups in mid-Victorian England.[11]

The Bill was essentially a compromise measure between the conflicting policies of the National Education League and the National Education Union and as such it gave satisfaction to neither party. The supporters of the League were particularly vehement in their criticisms and regarded the Bill as a betrayal of those who had brought the Liberals to power in 1868. Forster was accused of pandering to the interests of the Established Church when he permitted denominational schools to remain in existence. School boards could be created to establish schools only in areas where there was a deficiency of educational facilities. Nonconformists who wanted the destruction of denominational schools and the creation of a national system of non-sectarian schools opposed the Liberal Government's attempt to pass this compromise measure by participating in organizations such as the National Education League and the Central Nonconformist Committee.

The rivalry between Anglicans and Dissenters was an important factor in the slow progress of education in the middle of the nineteenth century. The Anglicans wanted their position confirmed and could point to a number of Church schools in the country and the proportion of pupils for whom they catered. During the debate on the Education Bill in 1870, Dr. Walker, the Rector of Cheltenham, addressed a large protest meeting in the town. He did not deny the importance for working class children, indeed, Parliament was criticized for not doing enough to promote education. Yet he was anxious about

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11. W. A. Haywood, "M. P. s and the 1870 Education Act: A Study in Human Motivation", Journal of Educational Administration and History, Vol. 4, No. 1, December 1971, p. 23.

the Bill's effect on teaching religion in schools,

> No education was perfect without religion, and ... education without religion was generally the first step to immorality ... in America in many of the States the parents did not send their children to school because of the vice and wickedness which prevailed among scholars.[12]

In its general form the Bill provided certain safeguards and allowed the school boards to assist denominational schools out of the rates. As a Nonconformist, Mr. Winterbottom, protested against this

> because it will introduce religious strife worse than that of the Church rate, and it will lead, particularly in one-school parishes, to the Church school only being supported by a local rate.[13]

This rate aid proposal brought the Cabinet into head-on collision with their own left-wing, led by the National Education League; and the cry of "the Church on the rates" formed a rallying cry for all Nonconformists. The eventual result was a compromise: board and voluntary schools were still to form complementary networks, but voluntary schools were to receive no money from the rates. Instead, to compensate them it was made possible to earn a great deal more money in central government grant.[14]

The friction between Church and chapel over school boards was evident in several ways. First the triennial elections of board members generated partisan activities in which religious affiliations were more significant than political ones. The terms 'Church Party' and 'Nonsectarian Party' replaced 'Conservative Party' and 'Liberal Party' in many of these local elections. Second, the clergy of the Established Church fought to exclude school boards

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12. Cheltenham Express, 12 February 1870 quoted in A.R. Williams "The Impediments to Popular Education", History of Education Society Bulletin, No. 13, Spring 1974, p. 49.

13. E.E. Rich, The Education Act 1870, 1970, p. 96.

14. Gillian Sutherland, Elementary Education in the Nineteenth Century, 1971, p. 29.

from many areas by attempting to erect new voluntary Church schools in order to remedy any shortage of education facilities. Finally, Churchmen and Nonconformists disagreed on the amount of religion, if any, which should be offered in the board schools. According to the Education Act, this was a decision to be made at local level, and the only legislative guideline was the stipulation that no denominational creed on dogma could be employed in board schools.

One of the most difficult problems of the supporters of compulsory education was how to preserve the rights of conscience. Forster made his opinion on the matter clear in a speech which he made to the House of Commons on 17 February 1870;

> It seems to me quite clear, if we approach the subject without any prejudice, that in taking money from the taxpayer to give his children secular education, we have no right to interfere with his feelings as a parent or to oblige him to accept for his children religious education to which he objects.[15]

The conscience clause provided for the exemption of children from religious instruction on written objection from their parents. George Dixon, a churchman, moved a resolution against this proposal because he thought that the matter should be dealt with more in accordance with the expectations of the Nonconformists. Many of the poor would be unable to avail themselves of the protection afforded to religious liberty "because of the influence of their superiors in social position."[16] The Conscience Clause as it stood, was criticized as liable to prove ineffectual in practice. It was thought improbable that a Nonconformist residing in a rural single-school area would risk the

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15. Verbatim Report of the Debate in Parliament on the Elementary Education Act, 1870, National Education Union, p. 9, Col. 2, quoted in J. M. Thew, Education in Gateshead under the School Board, 1870-1903, unpublished M. Ed. thesis, Durham, 1967, p. 196.

16. E. E. Rich, The Education Act 1870, 1970, p. 96.

displeasure of the Squire and Parson by invoking the clause at the local Church School.[17] Professor Fawcett thought it was impossible to conceive a Conscience Clause more awkwardly devised than that provided by the Bill. It required that every rural labourer who wished to take advantage of the clause must make a request in writing to that effect. The chances were ten to one that he could not write. Nothing less, he ventured to think, would satisfy the Liberal party than the absolute separation from secular teaching.[18] There were some who were afraid that there would be contests for sectarian dominance in the school boards, as the Bill allowed them to authorize religious instruction in their own schools. Gladstone replied to this criticism by saying that the local ratepayers must be left some discretion.

The result of these criticisms was a complete change in these clauses of the Bill:

a) the timetable conscience clause was introduced,

b) the denominational schools were separated from the school boards and cut off from rate aid,

c) denominational teaching was forbidden in board schools.

This was the origin of the dual system which led to rivalry between the board schools and the denominational schools and to the decline of the latter. The only rate aid for denominational schools was the power of the school board to pay for the free education of their necessitous children.

Armytage states that there is some justice in the claim that no-one more than W. V. Harcourt enlarged the scope of the original bill introduced by

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17. D. E. Selby, "Henry Edward Manning and the Education Bill of 1870", British Journal of Educational Studies, Vol. XVIII, No. 2, June 1970, p. 204.

18. Hansard, 18 March 1870, Vol. 200, c 280-1, quoted in E. E. Rich, The Education Act 1870, 1970, pp. 96-7.

Forster.[19] As Professor of International Law at Cambridge and M. P. for Oxford he represented the new establishment of liberal intelligentsia that was in time to supercede the Anglican parson and the ranting dissenter. Harcourt introduced the amendment that board schools should be established in every district to enforce attendance of all children of school age. This amendment prompted Cowper-Temple's more famous counter-amendment.

At a crucial cabinet meeting on 14 June 1870, the issue was thrashed out and according to Haywood the House was astonished on 16 June when Gladstone rose to explain that the Government now proposed to take over Cowper-Temple's clause as its own:

> that in all schools established by means of local rates no catechism on religious formulary which would be distinctive of any particular denomination should be taught.[20]

An interesting fact about this clause is that it never received a vote in its favour, it was sustained by a majority against all the amendments which were moved against it. Dewsbury regards the Cowper-Temple clause as crucial, without it the bill would never have reached the statute book.[21]

The fear existed that educational control would be entirely lost to the churches. What effect would this have on the church's influence? Would England remain a Christian society after such a move? Only the Anglicans and the Roman Catholics believed in the voluntary system enough or feared its demise enough actually to increase their total number of schools after the passing of the 1870 Act. During the six years following the Act the managers of voluntary schools in England and Wales raised over £1,250,000 to provide

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19. W. H. G. Armytage, "The 1870 Education Act", British Journal of Educational Studies, Vol. XVIII, No. 2, June 1970, p. 126.

20. W. A. Haywood, "M. P. s and the 1870 Education Act: A Study in Human Motivation", Journal of Educational Administration and History, Vol. 4, No. 1, December 1971, p. 24.

21. M. Dewsbury, "The Teaching of Religion in the Huddersfield School Board," Journal of Educational Administration and History, Vol. XI, No. 2, July 1979, p. 22.

an additional 300,000 school places. The Roman Catholics in Tudhoe must have felt threatened. They provided a school for 500 pupils in 1873. This school was built at a cost of £5,000 most of which was raised by public subscription.[22] No mean feat in those days. Spurred on by external threat the supporters of the voluntary system in those few years had been more active than ever before, they had increased by a third the number of school places made available in the previous 30.[23]

Whilst the Education Act strained the relationship between the Nonconformists and the leaders of the Liberal party, this tension was not transmitted to local level. In school board elections the local Liberal party machinery cooperated with the Nonconformist sects. Richards points out that in Leicester the Liberal Registration Society, the Nonconformists and the Council of Trade Unionists decided jointly on candidates for the school board.[24]

School board elections are of considerable interest not only for educational reasons but as a guide to the balance of political and religious forces in an area. In towns, four groups normally contested the elections: firstly, the Church party, concerned for denominational religious education and the interests of the voluntary schools and supported by the Conservative newspapers; secondly, the Catholics, who might or might not be Liberals in politics, but whose single-minded concern for their schools made them allies of the Anglicans in matters educational; thirdly, the Nonconformist Liberals

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22. A. J. Coia, St. Charles School 1873-1973, Darlington, 1973, p. 4.

23. J. S. Hurt, "Board School or Voluntary School: Some Determinants", "New Approaches to the Study of Popular Education 1851-1902", History of Education Society, Occ. Pub. No. 4, Spring 1979, p. 2.

24. Birmingham Daily Post, 24 December 1873, quoted in N. J. Richards, "Religious Controversy and the School Boards, 1870-1902", British Journal of Educational Studies, Vol. 18, No. 2, June 1970, p. 182.

or Progressives, supported by the Liberal press, who believed in the unsectarian school board system and wished to expand it; and lastly the Labour interest which might be divided into Trades Council and Socialist candidates. The first and third groups were, of course, the chief contenders.

There is little doubt that the cumulative voting did lead to anomalies, and that it also introduced a great deal of electioneering. The press and the parties involved urged their followers to vote in certain ways so as to gain fullest representation. The more closely knit Denominational groups benefitted far more from the cumulative vote as they were able to marshal their forces and depend upon them to vote as advised. Besides this, Anglicans and Catholics often worked together to gain strong representation.

In spite of the good intentions in some towns to avoid bitterly contested school board elections, religious strife was characteristic of the elections especially in the 1870s. The citizens of Liverpool made an effort to put educational issues ahead of religious ones in the creation of a school board. The pattern of the religious population in the city was changing and as a result there were some educational facilities which were not being utilized. There were sufficient schools to educate 67,000 pupils, but only 44,000 pupils were attending because there were many Anglican schools in those parts of Liverpool which no longer had a large Anglican population. As a result, many Roman Catholics and Nonconformists refused to send their children to these schools.[25]

Because of this existing religious problem in Liverpool, Nonconformist, Anglican and Catholic groups were anxious to cooperate to implement the Education Act. Many citizens agreed to a plan which would place a teacher

25. Manchester Guardian, 6 October 1870, quoted in N.J. Richards, "Religious Controversy and the School Boards, 1870-1902", British Journal of Educational Studies, Vol. XVIII, No. 2, June 1970, p. 184.

of a certain faith in board schools in an area where that religious affiliation was in the majority. Unfortunately for Liverpool, this initial cooperation between religious groups disappeared by the time of the elections for members of the first school board, and sectarian controversy flared between the seventy candidates nominated for the board.[26] Similarly in Sheffield a general representative committee attempted to save that town from sectarian rivalry in school board elections. The committee's efforts were not successful, however, and in 1870, 90 candidates fought for 15 seats on the Sheffield school board.[27]

In the north-east the Denominationalist party first took advantage of the cumulative system of voting on Teesside. During the first half of the school board era, the Roman Catholics put up a single candidate in each of the major school board districts, and by plumping all their votes on him, not merely secured his return, but often made him top of the poll. The Church party likewise quickly appreciated the potentialities of the cumulative vote: they usually put up the minimum number of candidates to serve their purposes, and by plumping their votes on them, did better than expected, gaining control of Stockton board and doing far better at Middlesbrough than forecast.[28] The Unsectarians soon learned from their mistakes, and stopped frittering away their votes on too many candidates.

During the 1860s and 1870s Tudhoe was experiencing industrial growth. This, naturally, was coupled with a growth in population. This

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26. Birmingham Daily Post, 14 November 1870, quoted in N. J. Richards, "Religious Controversy and the School Boards, 1870-1902", British Journal of Educational Studies, Vol. XVIII, No. 2, June 1970, p. 185.

27. Manchester Guardian, 16 November 1870, quoted in ibid., p. 187.

28. Middlesbrough Exchange, 2 December 1870, quoted in K. G. M. Ratcliffe, "Elections and School Boards: Teesside, 1870-1902", Journal of Educational Administration and History, Vol. 2, No. 2, June 1970, p. 32.

new population came from various parts of the country. Migration weakened old habits of religious practice (if any), industrial communities were usually outside the control of the Anglican squirearchy and new settlements lacked Anglican churches, clergy and schools.[29] Methodism became more influential in these areas where the Church of England had failed to provide for the pastoral needs of the population. The Methodists were quick to exploit the spiritual needs of the district and provided not only chapels for adults but Sunday Schools, which were well attended, for the children.

When the time came for the first school board election to be held in Tudhoe the Church of England, the Roman Catholics and the Nonconformists had all provided day schools. The election generated much enthusiasm. Unfortunately it is not known whether or not there was any sectarian rivalry in the area; however, the Primitive Methodists and the Miners' Union formed an alliance and succeeded in returning three candidates as "Liberal". The constitution of the board was three Churchmen, one favourable to the Church, three Primitive Methodists, one Wesleyan and one Roman Catholic holding the balance.[30]

Whilst the composition of successive boards is unknown, the large Roman Catholic population always safeguarded their interests by electing Canon Watson. He gained the unique record for Tudhoe by serving on all nine boards elected. In an area which was predominantly Roman Catholic and Nonconformist, the Methodists succeeded in getting only seven of their ministers elected at the triennial elections, whilst the Anglicans had eight of their clergy elected. As the school board era continued, the local Anglican vicars gradually lost interest and did not stand for election.

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29. B. I. Coleman, The Church of England in the Mid-Nineteenth Century, 1980, p. 14.

30. Durham County Advertizer, 18 February 1876.

It has been generally accepted that the cumulative system of voting falsified opinion. How far this was so can be seen from any analysis of the votes cast at particular elections. It is clear that the chief beneficiaries were minority groups who were well organized and very loyal, in particular the Roman Catholics. The presence of a strong Roman Catholic community tended to delay the secularization of school board elections and the success of working class candidates. (This generalization was not true in Tudhoe when a miner was elected to the first board.) The allegiance of Roman Catholic voters was to their Church rather than their social class.[31] Although further research would be required to substantiate the assertion, Roman Catholics and small Nonconformist sects had the best chance of working the system successfully. With a well-defined and organized membership it was possible to calculate the size of the potential vote accurately and, more importantly, use moral pressure to ensure a high turnout on election day.[32]

The members of Gladstone's government hoped to minimize religious controversy when passing the 1870 Act by leaving the decision of how much religious instruction there should be in board schools to local authorities. This approach made the Education Act more acceptable to members of all religious groups, but it merely transferred the problem to local areas, making control of new school boards fought on religious lines. However, in the eyes of some boards this conferred too much power on them, so much so that in 1876 the members of Norton school board sent a petition to Parliament declaring that no education bill could be satisfactory for a Christian country which left school boards with the power to exclude the reading of the Bible from their schools.[33]

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31. J.S. Hurt, Elementary Schooling and the Working Classes, 1860-1918, 1979, p. 94.

32. Ibid., p. 95.

33. K. G. M. Ratcliffe, "The School Boards of Middlesbrough and North Teesside: Their Policies and Achievements", unpublished M. Ed. thesis, Durham, 1966, p. 203.

As a result of this decision of leaving the amount of religious instruction to be given to the individual boards, there was recurring friction between Church and chapel during the elections of the school boards long after the national furore surrounding the passage of the Act had been forgotten.

The newly elected board members were faced with the decision of how much religious instruction should be taught in board schools. The Act prohibited the teaching of dogmatic religion distinctive of a particular religious group, but except for this stipulation the board members could decide on the amount of religious teaching which should be included in schools under their jurisdiction. Contrasting policies arose within school boards depending on the religious affiliation of the majority of the board members. The decision regarding religious teaching by the London school board had a great impact on many of the other newly formed boards throughout the nation. Religious instruction rather than other broader educational questions was the major theme in London's first school board election which included 135 candidates for 49 seats. A prominent Nonconformist, Samuel Morley, who was elected to the board, helped to work out a solution to the question of how much religion would be taught in London's board schools. There was to be Bible reading and general religious instruction with the aim of avoiding any denominational influence. These guidelines established by the first London School Board in 1871 were rejected in some parts of the country, depending upon the religious composition of the population of an area. The problem of religious education in board schools was essentially a middle-class concern, as were the boards themselves. It was the middle classes who, on the whole, sat on the Boards, campaigned for (or against) them, worried about them and supported them through the lion's share of the rates.

When the Liberals won the majority of seats in the 1873 board election in Birmingham they ordered that religious instruction in board schools should cease. Those parents who wanted religious teaching for their children could make arrangements with the Religious Education Society, whose members planned to rent board school facilities for this instruction after school hours. This sytem managed to survive for six years. Both the Anglicans and the Catholics in Manchester agreed that there should be extensive religious teaching in board schools. Fifty minutes were allotted each day for this teaching, and an attempt to shorten the period to 30 minutes was defeated by board members in 1874.[34]

In Leeds the board voted to include Bible reading with "such explanations and such instruction therefrom in the principles of morality and instruction as are suited to the capacities of the children."[35] Members of the Sheffield board followed a similar policy, but hired an inspector to be sure no denominational instruction was given in the schools. Nonconformists in Sheffield were zealous in making sure that the inspector carried out his duties fairly and many took the test used by the inspector to satisfy themselves that there was no denominational teaching in the schools.[36]

It was also decided that religious knowledge would not be examinable as a condition of a school receiving the Parliamentary grant. Davies points out that in Barnsley the need to concentrate on the grant earning subjects led to the gradual neglect of Scripture lessons.[37] Eventually they were omitted

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34. Manchester Guardian, 28 January 1874, quoted in N. J. Richards, "Religious Controversy and the School Boards, 1870-1902", British Journal of Educational Studies, Vol. 18, No. 2, June 1970, p. 189.

35. Ibid., p. 190.

36. J. H. Bingham, The Sheffield School Board, 1870-1903, Sheffield, 1949, pp. 162-3.

37. Miss A. M. Davies, "Education for Working Class Children in Barnsley During the Nineteenth Century with Particular Reference to Barnsley School Board", unpublished M. Ed. thesis, Durham, 1969, p. 222.

entirely except on special occasions such as the death of Queen Victoria, when half an hour was devoted to suitable hymns and prayers.

Although the head teachers employed by Tudhoe school board received no formal directive on religious teaching, it was generally assumed that the schools opened and closed with prayers. The girls from Tudhoe Colliery School began their secular instruction at 9.45 a.m.[38] Presumably the girls were having some form of religious instruction in the preceding 45 minutes. On two occasions the inspectors advised that a copy of the Conscience Clause should be procured.[39,40]

Before the Tudhoe Colliery schools were taken over by the school board, they had been under the auspices of the Wesleyans. There were occasions when the time usually given over to Scripture was used for extra drilling in reading:

> Have taken the time devoted to Scripture for extra lessons in Reading for 1st and 2nd classes.[41]
>
> Have taken the time devoted to Scripture for an extra lesson in Reading for Standard 1.[42]

When the schools were taken over by the school board, the Reverend Friskin, a member of the board, opened the school by reading Prayers.[43]

During the life span of 28 years, the question of religion was seldom touched. In June 1892 the board decided that they should select suitable hymns and prayers for use in the board schools.[44] Although no list remains the

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38. Tudhoe Colliery Girls' School log book, 10 November 1882.
39. Tudhoe Colliery Infants' School log book, 21 March 1879.
40. Tudhoe Colliery Girls' School log book, 12 March 1883.
41. Tudhoe Colliery Infants' School log book, 16 September 1881.
42. Ibid., 21 October 1881.
43. Ibid., 9 January 1882.
44. Minutes of Tudhoe School Board, 2 June 1892.

schools were furnished with such lists. In January 1896, Reverend Etchells asked the other board members if the schools sang hymns and said prayers at opening and closing.[45] The members were somewhat taken aback and could not answer the question immediately. The Clerk was ordered to contact the various head teachers to provide the necessary information. At the next monthly meeting the Clerk was able to state that the schools did sing hymns and say prayers at opening and closing.

The permissive nature of the 1870 Act with respect to religious education resulted in wide variations in the practice of different school boards throughout the country; from board schools in Manchester which taught a brand of religion which was very Anglican in form, to those of other boards which completely forbade religion in their schools.[46] By 1894, the London programme of undenominational religious instruction given by regular teachers and based on specific Bible readings was the pattern in most board schools. Of 2,392 boards in 1894, in England and Wales, only 91 had no religious instruction and of this number, 70 were Welsh. Birmingham was the only large board to deviate from the London programme as it provided for Bible reading only, without any instruction.[47]

There was much consternation voiced about the teaching of religious education. Many reservations had been expressed with regard to 'unsectarian' syllabuses. They were felt to be of doubtful value and to lead to the direction of latitudinarianism. Finally, there was the familiar cry of the traditionalists -

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45. Minutes of Tudhoe School Board, 2 June 1892.

46. Marjorie Cruickshank, Church and State in English Education, 1870 to the Present Day, 1963, pp. 43-44.

47. J.E.B. Munson, "The London School Board Election of 1894: A Study in Victorian Religious Controversy", British Journal of Educational Studies, Vol. 23, No. 1, 1975, p. 8.

education had always been and should continue to remain the province of the church.

Forster's measure marks the end of an era in English education, the end of a period of state supervision and the beginning of a period of state participation. Faced with the religious antagonisms of the age as well as the necessity of providing a system of education with the least possible expenditure of public money, he adopted the typically English expedient of compromise by retaining the old system and grafting on it a new one. His settlement reflected the spirit of the age in which religious strife made the establishment of a single system impracticable and in which the prevailing passion for economy required that educational progress should be "on the cheap."[48]

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48. Marjorie Cruickshank, Church and State in English Education, 1870 to the Present Day, 1963, p. 37.

CHAPTER 8

HEALTH, WELFARE AND ATTENDANCE

The idea of compulsory school attendance was alien to English educational thought for many years but there were pockets of society who thought that the education of children was far too important a matter to be left to the vagaries of individual parents. It was a collective responsibility to be enforced by the state.[1] When the Newcastle Commission published its findings in 1861 the members reported that the average attendance in schools was only 76 per cent, that one third of pupils attended for less than 100 days in any year and that less than one fifth stayed on after the age of 10. Despite these facts the Commission rejected compulsory attendance as being un-English and unnecessary. Although it was admitted that the working classes presented special problems most middle class Victorians were of the opinion that once the advantages of education had been pointed out parents would send their children to school regularly and the attendance problems would disappear. Consequently, the fundamental need was to provide efficiently organized facilities for education.

Although the number of schools had increased throughout the early part of the nineteenth century, this increase had not been matched by an increase in attendance. Throughout the 1840s the Inspectors' Reports drew attention to the irregularity of school attendance, the early withdrawal of children and half-time attendance.

At a conference organized by Canon Mosely, in 1857, and which reflected every shade of educational opinion except the Catholics and the secularists they debated the fact that the main defect in popular education

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1. D. K. Jones, The Making of the Education System, 1851-1881, 1977, p. 75.

was not so much the lack of schools, but the insufficient attendance of working class children. The conference members argued that many children never attended school at all and most of those who did were withdrawn before they could derive any benefit.

Reporting on the educational census of 1851, Horace Mann argued that 1 in 6 of the population was of school age and of this ratio about 28 per cent (850,000) was not being educated.[2] Surviving figures for specific localities suggest that this was an underestimate. At Winchester in 1847, 747 children between the ages of six and fourteen were in school, 108 were working and 223 neither at school nor at work. In Manchester, the Statistical Society reported that in 1851, of those children aged between three and ten, 21,774 were at school and 22,096, excluding those who were sick or at work, were not. In Tudhoe in 1851, there were 96 children between the ages of five and fourteen, 47 were in school, 9 were at work and the other 40 were presumably roaming the streets. Twenty years later, the investigation of 1870 into education in four major provincial centres showed, according to Mann's criterion, only about 60 per cent of the potential school population to be on roll in Birmingham, Liverpool and Manchester, with Leeds only slightly better at 65 per cent.[3] Whilst it is difficult to make comparisons between large cities and villages, Tudhoe compared favourably with Leeds, having 65 per cent of the children between the ages of five and fourteen in receipt of some form of education.[4]

For those pupils who did attend school a constant source of educational difficulty was the short stay of the pupils in any one school. At St. Philip's

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2. Quoted in Nancy Ball, "Elementary school attendance and voluntary effort before 1870", History of Education, Vol. II, No. 1, January 1973, p. 20.

3. Ibid., p. 20.

4. Census Returns for Tudhoe, 1871.

School, Birmingham, the average stay in 1856 was only eight and a half months, whilst at a school in Sheffield the average stay was only six months in 1857. Of 94 boys who left Derby British School (average attendance, 150) between January and June 1848, only four had attended for more than four years and 33 for over a year. All the rest had been in school for less than three months.[5] At Bradford the mill children stayed an average of only three months at school, thus a teacher could have a possible turnover of pupils four times a year.[6] Whilst this is an extreme example of pupil turnover it was fairly common to have a complete turnover of pupils once a year. Within the first 14 months of opening Henry Bywater of East Howle Mixed School admitted 283 pupils, the number on the roll was 154, the remaining 129 had left. These figures did not include the re-admissions.[7] A perennial source of worry to the head teachers was the constant movement of the pupils who invariably left as the annual examination was approaching: "Two needed for the exam have left the neighbourhood."[8] During the last century there was no government assistance for the unemployed. People had to look for work and this was the main reason for much of the movement. Whenever the colliery was working badly families left the district, they could not afford to wait for better times. Whilst many moved within the county, several families took an adventurous step in 1881. They left the district bound for America. Unfortunately it is not known which part of America they went to but presumably they went to the coal mining districts of Pennsylvania. So many families went that a special carriage had to be attached to the train to

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5. Nancy Ball, "Elementary school attendance and voluntary effort before 1870", History of Education, Vol. II, No. 2, January 1973, p. 21.

6. R. Pallister, "The determinants of elementary school attendance about 1850", Durham Research Review, Vol. 5, No. 23, Autumn, 1969, p. 384.

7. East Howle Mixed School log book, 29 October 1880.

8. East Howle Infants' School log book, 19 August 1881.

accommodate them all.[9]

Full-time school attendance for children between the ages of five and ten did not become universally compulsory in law until 1880 and in practice even later. The 1870 Elementary Education Act had done no more than give school boards the power to introduce bye-laws. For the next six years the boards were under no necessity to enforce them. Until the Education Department drafted model bye-laws in the same year, 1876, the boards produced a bewildering array of rules that gave employers, parents and children every reason to feel contempt for the law and every excuse to evade it. The first step after 1870 towards effective compulsion came in 1873 when attendance became mandatory for those children whose parents received the payment of school fees as part of their outdoor relief.

In 1876 less than half of the population of England and Wales, 46 per cent, lived in areas in which school attendance was at least nominally compulsory. The great majority, more than 8 million, lived in London and other large cities and towns. Fewer than 29 per cent lived in the country. The Education Act of 1876 attempted to remedy the situation whilst still paying lip-service to the landed classes. This Act gave the managers the best of both worlds, the means of improving attendance yet keeping the school board at bay. Another unit of local government, the school attendance committee, was created. The bye-laws of this committee could only become effective when a particular parish requested it. Needless to say not many parishes put in a request. In 1879 there were still 6 million people, nearly all of whom were living in rural areas outside the bye-law system.[10] Unfortunately a copy of the bye-laws of Tudhoe School Board is no longer in existence but to enforce them the board members appointed an Attendance

9. Durham County Advertizer, 16 September 1881.

10. J.S. Hurt, Elementary Schooling and the Working Classes, 1860-1918, 1979, p. 189.

Officer who was to devote all his time to his duties and for which he was to receive an annual salary of £70.[11] After the applications for the post had been received and studied the members decided unanimously to offer the position to John Lidster of Ferryhill. However, when he discovered that the appointment was to be full-time he declined to accept. In his place a Mr. Maughan was appointed.[12]

It was his task to make periodic visits to the schools to warn the children about the penalties of non-attendance. Even so he was not always successful and parents were frequently summoned for failing to send their children to school regularly. Those parents who were taken to court received such minimal fines as to make the exercise almost useless. One parent who was charged with refusing to send his child to school was fined the ridiculous sum of one shilling.[13] However, the attendance officer was not always clear about his duties. When a new officer was appointed in 1883 he was under the impression that it was the "business of the teacher to make enquiries and his to act on the information in summoning parents before the committee."[14] When the attendance officer did visit the worst offenders his visits had the desired effect but this was usually short lived. In an attempt to improve attendance the board decided to issue attendance cards. The result was a marked improvement in attendance.[15] On occasions, school attendance committees were held in order to bring the attention of the parents to the value of regular attendance. At one of these meetings several parents had been summoned; however, only one member of the committee put in an appearance.

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11. Minutes of Tudhoe School Board, 8 August 1878.
12. Ibid., 3 October 1878.
13. Durham County Advertizer, 1 May 1891.
14. East Howle Mixed School log book, 22 March 1883.
15. Ibid., 25 January 1895.

Not surprisingly the meeting did not have the desired effect of improving the attendance.[16]

After the passing of the Education Acts of 1870, 1876 and 1880 it became compulsory for every child to attend school at least to the age of 10 and thereafter to 13 or 14 as local bye-laws laid down, unless a suitable leaving examination could be passed which gave earlier exemption. This latter concession gave rise to the so-called labour certificate. Some parents, knowingly or unknowingly, were frequently confused about the school leaving age. In 1882 several children were re-admitted to East Howle Mixed School. They had not been in school for several months because they thought they were too old.[17] Several older girls were reported to have left school in 1887, although they were exempt neither by age nor by standard.[18] One girl had to return to school, much to her annoyance.[19] On occasions the board waived the bye-laws. A thirteen year old girl wished to leave school in 1902. She had over 350 attendances in four years but was 49 short for the fifth year. However, the school had been closed for six weeks that year owing to an epidemic. Under the circumstances she was given permission to leave.[20] Those parents who were anxious to have their children at work questioned the clerk to the board about labour certificates. He wrote to the H. M. I. to clarify the position of these children. Arthur Bernays replied that parents were at liberty to have their children examined at any school and at frequent intervals.[21] Following this directive there was

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16. East Howle Mixed School log book, 30 September 1898.
17. Ibid., 18 August 1882.
18. Ibid., 25 November 1887.
19. Ibid., 27 April 1900.
20. Ibid., 26 September 1902.
21. Minutes of Tudhoe School Board, 4 September 1890.

a constant demand for labour certificates.

Apart from the Elementary Education Acts there were at least 15 acts in force in 1876 regulating the working conditions of children in factories and workshops, some of which required children to attend school outside working hours. Of all the clauses of this complex legislation the hardest to enforce were the educational ones. Two of the main obstacles to the law's successful implementation had their roots in the parent act, the Factory Act of 1833, which had preceded both the establishment of the school inspectorate and the beginnings of the compulsory registration of births and marriages. Because there were no birth certificates the 1833 Act introduced a surgeon's certificate as evidence of a child's age. Naturally, surgeons were under a great temptation to issue the certificate in order to earn their fee. They were also under considerable pressure both from employers and parents to pass children as being of the required age. Since even an experienced surgeon could make a genuine mistake, the certificate was really only one of opinion and not one of fact. It is hardly surprising that many factory inspectors rejected the certificates, much to the chagrin of both parents and employers.

Those children who worked in the textile mills were a group whose parents strongly opposed any efforts to lengthen their school careers and thereby prevent them from working. The school inspector who covered the Stockport area found that the children were seldom required to make good any time they might have lost at school. In the textile industries as a whole the tradition was one of a cottage industry in which the children helped the parents. In Yorkshire and Lancashire the children worked in the mills because "it was the proper thing to be done,"[22] not because of poverty which was the dominant

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22. J.S. Hurt, Elementary Schooling and the Working Classes, 1860-1918, 1979, p.190.

motive elsewhere. On the contrary textile workers were regarded as a comparatively affluent working class group in the mid 1870s. There were many mill operatives earning between 28s. and 40s. a week, whose wives and daughters were also earning substantial wages and whose children nevertheless only attended school part-time. Other parents in the district saw this custom as an opportunity of supplementing the family income. Employers welcomed the cheap child labour which was so readily available. Half-time certificates were easily obtained for children who were never going to work in the mills.

However, from the late 1880s onwards factory inspectors began to report a decline in the number of part-timers employed in the factories. In the textile industry, the mill owners were finding the young children were more trouble than they were worth. In 1879, one Manchester mill was employing 500 part-timers, yet ten years later this figure had dropped to below 40.[23] Although it was cheaper to employ two part-timers instead of one older full-timer the millowners found that the dismissal of the part-timers increased their output. Many saw the need for the abolition of the part-time system but not everyone wanted it. The millowners in Lancashire and Yorkshire were in favour of its retention as were the inhabitants of Macclesfield where work in the silk industry was intermittent. Here the weavers, who often averaged less than 15s. a week, were ready to grasp any source of extra income. Male labour had few outlets in Bradford and the wages of a wool-comber were extremely low, thus a child's earning potential was an important factor in the working class family budget.

The combination of work and school made the part-timer's day a long

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23. J.S. Hurt, Elementary Schooling and the Working Classes, 1860-1918, 1979, p.191.

one and effectively denied him any access to secondary education. The accident rate for children in the mills was nearly double that for adults and young persons. Not only did the long hours make them accident prone, their education suffered. Part-timers often fell asleep over their lessons. Children who were attending school full-time found their education held back as the teacher had to cope with two sets of part-timers, one coming in the morning, the other in the afternoon. From the late 1870s onwards children's official hours were from 6.00 a.m. until 12.30 p.m. in the mill. Unofficially they often arrived earlier. After leaving the mill where they had been working in a humid atmosphere which varied between 80^{o}F and 110^{0}F, they had to hurry home where, if they were lucky, they had a meal before starting school.

In Tudhoe the question of part-time education raised its head once and that was not until 1900. The part-timer, H. Ward, was employed each morning at a foundry. He was in Standard II and had passed no examination. The Attendance Officer was called in to look into the case.[24] Ward was ordered to attend full-time or proceedings would be taken against both him and his employer.[25] Presumably the boy returned to school as there was no further mention of the incident.

Agricultural interests often interrupted the education of children. They were needed for weeding and harvesting. In lowland England seasonal work was demanded of children from the age of seven. Schools made some attempt to adjust to this. The further north the rural school, the later was the date of the summer (harvest) holidays, except for the hopping districts of Kent which were latest of all (mid September to October). Although attendance was

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24. East Howle Mixed School log book, 26 January 1900.

25. Ibid., 23 February 1900.

intermittent the children remained on the roll of the school, only removing their names when there was sufficient permanent employment. This might be at the age of 13 or 14 although Nancy Ball puts it as low as nine or ten years.[26] Many of the older children attending school in Tudhoe gave themselves an annual holiday to pick potatoes: "potato picking, several of the upper standard children have left for the week."[27] Having come from London, Henry Bywater presumably had not come up against this reason for absence before. During his first year at East Howle he was so incensed with the number of children absent picking potatoes that he wrote to their employer demanding their return to school. The children made their appearance by the end of the week.[28] It is impossible to say whether or not Henry Bywater met with the opposition which greeted other country teachers who tried to enforce attendance on their pupils. A school mistress who attempted to bribe a village policeman to round up local truants was told

> Now miss if you want to keep your situation, take my advice, it is no use going against the farmers. Teach those who come to school, and if they employ the boys, don't pretend to know it.[29]

Contrary to the layman's belief, the Education Act of 1870 did not provide free education. By the terms of the Act,

> Every child attending a school provided by any school board shall pay such weekly fees as may be prescribed by the school board, with the consent of the Education Department.[30]

It was hoped that these fees would not cause any financial embarrassment. The Education Act of 1876 had empowered the poor law guardians to pay

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26. Nancy Ball, "Elementary school attendance and voluntary effort before 1870", History of Education, Vol. II, No. 1, January 1973, p. 22.

27. East Howle Mixed School log book, 15 October 1880.

28. Ibid., 5 November 1880.

29. J.S. Hurt, Elementary Schooling and the Working Classes, 1860-1918, 1979, p. 200.

30. Elementary Education Act 1870, sec. 17.

school fees where parents were unable to do so. These fees could prove to be a disincentive to parents to send their children to school. Whereas one penny a week for one child might be acceptable, threepence a week for each of three children could be sufficient to persuade parents to keep their children away from school.

There was always a struggle to get the fees and there were invariably arrears. These arrears were not always paid. The parents of Thomas Webster refused to pay the nine pence which they owed and removed him from school.[31] He was not the only child to be removed for this reason, a family of three was taken away from school because they had been sent home for their fees.[32] In an attempt to alleviate the problem the school board allowed several children to be admitted free: "6 free children admitted."[33]

Those children who were not receiving any financial assistance and arrived without their school pence were frequently sent home to collect the necessary cash: "several children sent home for fees."[34] Should the parents be without the necessary cash they merely kept the children at home: "Martha Bell sent home for her school pence, she did not return."[35] On occasions parents refused to pay the fees: "three mothers have been up to school this week, they refuse to pay the arrears."[36]

Those children who were ill at the beginning of the week were often kept at home for the rest of the week; parents were loath to pay the fees for a short week. A child who was in any way sensitive must have suffered the

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31. East Howle Infants' School log book, 23 January 1880.
32. East Howle Mixed School log book, 5 May 1882.
33. Tudhoe Grange Infants' School log book, 29 August 1884.
34. Tudhoe Colliery Infants' School log book , 9 October 1885.
35. East Howle Infants' School log book, 18 March 1887.
36. Tudhoe Grange Infants' School log book, 25 June 1880.

bitter humiliations of being poor. These were finally lifted when school fees were abolished in 1891. To mark the occasion a day's holiday was granted.[37]

A very important determinant of absenteeism was ill-health. This was a period when malnutrition was very common and diets often inadequate. The poor lived under a continuous struggle to obtain the necessities of life and to make ends meet, whilst the very poor lived in a state of chronic want. In unhygienic living conditions disease spread rapidly. Epidemics were usually most severe in the towns. However, they spread rapidly elsewhere. In the stuffy overcrowded atmosphere common to most schools, where the smell of unwashed bodies and, often, filthy clothing was combined with the unhygienic practice of spitting on the slates to clean them, disease spread rapidly.

Measles was one of these diseases. It made almost annual appearances. In an effort to curb the spread of the disease children were sent home if a member of the family was infected. This course of action did not seem to have the desired effect. During a particularly virulent epidemic, the schools were given an extra week's holiday at Whit when so few returned.[38] This attack of measles was so severe that someone spread the rumour that the schools had closed because of the epidemic.[39] In 1896 Tudhoe found itself in the grips of another epidemic which lasted from January until October. During one of his periodic visits in February, Provost Watson found the attendance in the schools in Tudhoe Colliery so low that he declared that the only possible course of action to be taken was to close the schools for two

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37. East Howle Mixed School log book, 4 September 1891.

38. Ibid., 19 May 1880.

39. Tudhoe Colliery Infants' School log book, 15 June 1880.

weeks.[40] Although this action appeared to have the desired effect for a time, the disease made a re-appearance in another part of the district later in the year and the schools had an extra long holiday at Whit.[41] Three years later another severe attack left only 40 per cent of the children in school at Tudhoe Colliery.[42]

Smallpox, a disease almost unheard of today, reared its ugly head in February 1884. The epidemic quickly gathered momentum. In an effort to curb the spread of the disease the clerk to the board contacted the Inspector of Nuisances of the Sedgefield Union to supply the master of East Howle Mixed School with disinfectant.[43] In spite of this the epidemic continued to spread. The attendance was so low that Henry Bywater received instructions from the board to send the children home and close the school. However, the Attendance Officer sent round to tell them to return the next day. Not surprisingly the attendance was low.[44] The epidemic continued to spread and lasted until June. What was so surprising was only one school was affected.

Teachers were not immune from these diseases. Typhoid fever was an unwelcome visitor to Tudhoe in 1889. The assistant, Kate Ballan , at Tudhoe Colliery Infants' School was unable to attend school for a fortnight because her sister was suffering from the disease. At the same time Mary Dryden, a pupil-teacher in the same school, was also suffering from typhoid.[45] She was absent for a month. However, the disease took its toll and Mary was forced to resign her post soon afterwards. Although Kate Ballan escaped the disease then, she contracted it in 1892. She was absent for a month.[46]

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40. Tudhoe Colliery Mixed School log book, 12 February 1896.
41. East Howle Infants' School log book, 20 May 1896.
42. Tudhoe Colliery Infants' School log book, 17 November 1899.
43. Minutes of Tudhoe School Board, 6 March 1884.
44. East Howle Mixed School log book, 25 April 1884.
45. Tudhoe Colliery Infants' School log book, 23 August 1889.
46. Ibid., 19 August 1892.

Whether the disease left her with any after-effects is unknown but Miss Ballan was absent for a fortnight the following January. On her return she resigned her position.

Scarlet fever and scarletina also made periodic appearances, often concurrently with measles. During epidemics of this disease the Medical Officer of Health frequently forbade teachers from coming to school because a member of their family was infected:

> Miss Iley is forbidden to attend school, one of her family has scarlet fever.[47]

In 1895 the Medical Officer of Health stated that "all children from Metal Bridge must not attend school because of scarlet fever."[48] This was all very well but the annual examination was drawing close and the attendance of these children was needed for the grant. Finally it was decided that a claim should be sent to the Education Department asking for the attendances to be allowed for those children in Metal Bridge.[49]

Other diseases which occasionally raised their heads were mumps, chicken pox and whooping cough. A severe case of this last disease caused one child to be absent for 12 weeks.[50]

In these enlightened days when most parents can appreciate the value of vaccination against various diseases it is difficult to imagine how it could possibly strike terror in the hearts of parents 100 years ago but it did. In January 1884 the attendance at East Howle Mixed School fell by almost a half when someone spread the "foolish rumour that all children were to be vaccinated in the school room this morning."[51]

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47. Tudhoe Colliery Mixed School log book, 20 October 1894.
48. East Howle Mixed School log book, 4 October 1895.
49. Ibid., 12 November 1895.
50. East Howle Mixed School log book, 28 August 1903.
51. Ibid., 25 January 1884.

Accidents to the children were always noted. One young girl, Esther Johnston, from Tudhoe Grange Infants' School had her fingers accidently crushed in the school door during the dinner hour. The day had been particularly windy thus causing a draught between the front and back doors. Her mother visited the school to inform the staff that her daughter had had one finger amputated and the doctor was of the opinion that another finger would also have to be removed.[52] Less than a month later another pupil had an accident caused by the door:

> Richard Pattison, a boy in the baby class had his finger nail almost taken off by the front door banging against him.[53]

Nowadays the death of a child of school age is an extreme rarity. Considering living conditions 100 years ago the incidence of child mortality in Tudhoe was extremely low. Several of those who died had had scarlet fever:

> A girl in the second class died suddenly from fever.[54]

Others appeared to have been ill for very short periods:

> A girl died after two days' illness.[55]

> Arthur Parry died after a short illness. He was present at the inspection last week.[56]

The railway claimed the lives of two pupils. William Henderson was run over by a truck at the colliery. His injuries necessitated the amputation of a limb. However, this operation proved to be unsuccessful and he died a month later.[57] The other child was killed the following year.[58]

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52. Tudhoe Grange Infants' School log book, 12 November 1884.
53. Ibid., 9 December 1884.
54. Tudhoe Colliery Infants' School log book, 5 July 1881.
55. Ibid., 13 February 1883.
56. Tudhoe Colliery Mixed School log book, 20 October 1902.
57. East Howle Mixed School log book, 29 March 1889.
58. East Howle Infants' School log book, 23 May 1890.

The weather was yet another determinant of school attendance. Rain and snow quickly brought the attendance to a low ebb. On many occasions a rainstorm during the lunch hour meant that very few pupils returned. Those who did "sat round the fire to dry".[59] During the winter, when the roads were blocked with snow, it was impossible for many children to reach school, consequently the schools were closed. These impromptu closures caused some consternation amongst the board members and it was decided that the head teachers could not close the schools for even half a day without the previous sanction of the School Management Committee.[60] The attendance of the very young children was especially poor during the winter. In some cases "several of the little ones left school during the winter months."[61]

Even the summer months were not without their hazards. A heatwave sometimes had an adverse effect on the children and they were unable to work when the temperature in the classroom rose to $85^{o}F$.[62]

Thomas Naylor always felt that it was general apathy on the part of the parents to blame for poor attendance. Even those parents who did see some value in education often failed to appreciate the importance of regular attendance. All schools seemed to suffer from the Friday afternoon syndrome. Whilst the attendance for the rest of the week may have been good, it invariably plummetted on Friday afternoon. Teachers tried various devices in an attempt to improve the attendance. Many children were kept at home to help their mothers so the headmistress of Tudhoe Colliery Infants' school decided to assemble at 1 p.m. and dismiss at 3 p.m. thus giving the children an

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59. East Howle Mixed School log book, 9 October 1903.

60. Minutes of Tudhoe School Board, 4 March 1886.

61. East Howle Infants' School log book, 1 December 1887.

62. Tudhoe Colliery Infants' School log book, 26 June 1878.

extra hour at home.[63] This plan obviously had the desired effect and she kept to this arrangement throughout her time in the school. However, her successors tried other remedies; one punished all the Friday afternoon absentees by putting them down in class,[64] whilst another kept them in from play.[65] Neither of these punishments had any effect and the problem continued. Lot Squire thought that the "board should take steps to improve the attendance on Friday afternoons."[66] On one occasion so few children re-appeared on Friday afternoon that he closed the school and sent the children home.[67] The school board finally decided to act on this problem in 1898. Circulars were issued warning parents that they (the board) fully intended to prosecute them if they failed to send their children to school regularly especially on Friday afternoons.[68] Needless to say attendance was greatly improved for a while. One Friday afternoon an event occurred over which no-one had any control. When he re-opened his school, Thomas Naylor found the attendance somewhat depleted. When he questioned the remaining scholars as to the whereabouts of the absentees he was informed of "the sudden death of a person who had a large number of relatives."[69] The following Monday afternoon the children were again absent to pay their last respects.

The attendance of girls was usually extremely poor. A girl was a valuable asset in the house particularly if there was a large family. Girls stayed away when mother was ill, when there was a washing day (usually Wednesday in Tudhoe), when there was a younger child to look after, when there were

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63. Tudhoe Colliery Infants' School log book, 29 August 1879.

64. Ibid., 9 October 1882.

65. Ibid., 5 March 1883.

66. Tudhoe Colliery Mixed School log book, 29 May 1893.

67. Ibid., 30 January 1895.

68. East Howle Mixed School log book, 18 November 1898.

69. Ibid., 6 May 1904.

brothers returning from work and needing meals and for various other trivial reasons. The attendance of the girls who passed Standard IV was so poor that Henry Bywater felt that "something should be done either to exempt them or compel them to attend more regularly."[70] However, nothing was done to enforce the warnings given by the Attendance Officer. In the spring "several girls in Standard II, V and VI were absent, assisting their mothers with spring cleaning."[71]

There were many local and national events which offered another opportunity to be out of school. Each year the schools were closed for two afternoons to allow the children to attend both Tudhoe Flower Show and Spennymoor Flower Show. A circus in town was always more exciting than school. Originally the schools attempted to carry on as normal by opening in the usual way but they closed soon afterwards and sent the children home. After a time, however, the schools decided to give up the uneven struggle and closed their doors at noon whenever a circus made an appearance in the neighbourhood.

Galas, trips and Sunday School treats were events which caused great excitement and necessitated a holiday. The galas and Sunday School treats took place in the immediate vicinity of the village but the trips involved travelling, usually to the coast:

> Sunday School having a trip to Redcar.[72]
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> Sunday School trip to Roker.[73]

On one occasion five children were absent for a week, they had "gone on an excursion to South Wales."[74]

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70. East Howle Mixed School log book, 9 April 1886.
71. Tudhoe Colliery Mixed School log book, 1 May 1893.
72. Tudhoe Colliery Girls' School log book, 2 July 1884.
73. Tudhoe Colliery Infants' School log book, 11 July 1889.
74. East Howle Infants' School log book, 30 August 1889.

Every three years one or more schools closed for the day as it was needed as a polling booth for the triennial election of the school board. Obviously, it was seen by the returning officer how useful schools were for this purpose as they were frequently used for Parliamentary elections.

Royal events were always a good reason for a holiday. Naturally, holidays were given to celebrate the Golden and Diamond Jubilees of Queen Victoria. On the latter occasions a holiday of two days was granted, however, the following day was very wet and the attendance was low.[75] Unlike many schools in the area, those in Tudhoe did not mark the death of Queen Victoria in any way. The coronation the following year of her successor, Edward VII, posed problems for the school board. It had been so long since a coronation had taken place that everyone was uncertain of procedure. Originally it had been decided that a two day holiday would suffice but on reflection the board decided to give the schools a whole week during which they could join in the celebrations.[76]

Holidays were granted to celebrate victory in war. The schools were closed for the day when Mafeking was relieved.[77] On two occasions the schools were given a half holiday because of a demonstration connected with the Boer War which was being held in Coxhoe.[78] When the war finally ended in 1902 this was another opportunity to close the schools.

The head teachers frequently complained that the work of the school was hampered by the irregular attendance of those pupils who only attended school "when not required elsewhere."[79] In an effort to improve attendance the school

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75. Tudhoe Colliery Mixed School log book, 22 June 1897.

76. East Howle Infants' School log book, 20 June 1902.

77. Tudhoe Colliery Mixed School log book, 23 May 1900.

78. East Howle Infants' School log book, 19 September 1900.

79. East Howle Mixed School log book, 12 September 1884.

board introduced a prize scheme in 1886. This was nothing new. In 1850 Tremenhere had persuaded 23 firms in South Staffordshire to set up "The Iron and Coal Masters Association for the Encouragement of Education ... in the Mining Districts", which offered money prizes on the results of general examinations of children over the age of 11, who had attended regularly for two years. The school board did not offer monetary prizes, they usually took the form of books, medals or certificates. The number of pupils receiving prizes was not always recorded; however, 18 children from East Howle Mixed School received prizes in 1901.[80]

Even before 1870 there were parents who could see the value of education and sent their children to school regularly. There were, however, those parents who had never sent their children to school and although they were now no longer able to avoid it altogether their main concern was to see that their offspring attended as little as possible. To them compulsory education, far from being the gift of a beneficent state was an infliction that reduced living standards and disrupted the normal pattern of life.[81] In the working class home the bright child was the one who demonstrated his academic prowess by leaving school as early as legally possible. For the majority of children the lengthening of their school life increased their period of dependence upon their parents and deferred their entry into the adult world. Children found the delay of their entry into the adult world irksome for until they achieved that status their opinion counted for little in many a working class home. Although several pupils from the Tudhoe schools became pupil teachers and stayed on in the schools, for the vast majority, school was a compulsory interlude between childhood and adulthood.

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80. East Howle Mixed School log book, 20 December 1901.

81. J.S. Hurt, Elementary Schooling and the Working Classes, 1860-1918, 1979, p. 211.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION

The Elementary Education Act of 1870 did not inaugurate in Britain the provision of state aid for public elementary schools. Nor did it introduce a national system wholly maintained from public funds. It did, however, decree that henceforward there must be made available throughout England and Wales "a sufficient amount of accommodation in public elementary schools" and it recognized that this would entail financial support from both national and local taxes. Though the state declined to accept full responsibility for providing a national system of elementary education, it did, at least, undertake to ensure that such a system would be established. The Act was the most workable piece of compromise legislation in English nineteenth century history. It did not introduce free or compulsory education, but it made both possible. It did not supersede the voluntary system, it supplemented it. It brought the state into action in education as never before. The aim of the Act was to provide school accommodation "for all children resident in such districts for whose elementary education efficient and suitable provision is not otherwise made." The Act had left the scope of elementary education undefined, thus allowing sensible people to forward the cause of education.

The 1870 Act was a milestone from which there was no going back. By setting up elected local bodies the Act created a new source of initiative, independent of either the voluntary bodies or the remote austerity of the Education Department. Because of competition between the school boards and the Churches elementary education surged ahead. In the ten years following the passing of the Act, the number of voluntary schools rose from

8,000 to 14,000; between 3,000 and 4,000 schools were started or taken over by the school boards, in the years 1870-83, the Anglicans spent over £12 million on school building compared with a total of £15 million spent by the National Society between 1811 and 1870. Yet by 1900 there were nearly as many children in board schools as in Church schools.

The 30 years before 1902 were formative in many ways: they established attitudes which have proved hard to shake; and the creation of a system of elementary education, complete in itself, had consequential effects on secondary education. The highly selective grammar school type of secondary education, with its university orientation, was able to take the form it did because the elementary schools were deemed to provide all that was needed for the great majority of children.

When the school boards assumed their responsibilities in 1870 their first tasks were to provide schools and to compel children to attend them. These tasks occupied the attention of even the most go-ahead boards throughout the 1870s. Children were reluctant to attend and parents were reluctant to send them, many head teachers complained that the academic achievements of their schools were being held back by the irregularity of attendance. However, the attendance problem was slowly resolved and children were attending school for six or seven years.

The success with which the school boards filled up the gaps in elementary education only exposed the need for a similar expansion of secondary education. The boards were faced with a problem which they had hitherto not encountered. The more highly motivated children proceeded rapidly through the schools, and since, by the requirements of the grant earning regulations, they had to be raised a standard each year, they reached the top standard before they were due

to leave and had nowhere else to go. To alleviate the problem the Education Department instituted a seventh standard. Naturally the larger boards, faced with a large number of children who reached Standard VII hit on the idea of gathering them together into one school for more advanced work. Leeds was the first in this field. It was not until 1898 that Tudhoe school board decided to group all the Standard VII children together in Tudhoe Grange School. They agreed that the teacher appointed must be a university graduate. The position was given to Frederic Myers from the Royal Latin School, Buckingham.[1]

For the most part, the school boards were far too small to carry out responsibilities in secondary education. The Samuelson Report of 1884 suggested that this was a job for the new County and County Borough Councils formed after the 1888 Local Government Act.

There was a need for the creation of new authorities which were capable of administering secondary education. Those school boards which had formed higher-grade school and pupil-teacher centres (Tudhoe was one of these) were stretching the 1870 Act to do so. The Cockerton judgement arising from the action brought by a District Auditor of that name against the London School board held that in providing post-elementary education, the London authorities were acting illegally. A new act was needed to enable this work to go on within the framework of secondary education.

Before any real advance could be made in the development of scientific and technical education, order had to be created out of chaos. The Science and Art Department had been formed at the Board of Trade in 1853 after the Great Exhibition. It moved to the Education Department in 1856 and from 1859

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1. Minutes of Tudhoe School Board, 7 October 1898.

began to make grants for science classes on a payment-by-results basis. At first most of the grants went to evening work carried out by elementary school teachers. Standards rose steadily and by the time of the Bryce Report in 1894-5, Science and Art grants amounted to £143,000 a year. By this time a large part of the money went to "ex-standard", that is, senior classes in day elementary schools. This meant that the Science and Art Department was sponsoring the type of secondary education without an act.

There were other complicating factors: the Technical Instruction Act of 1889 empowered Counties and County Boroughs to spend a penny rate on technical or manual instruction, and the Whisky Money (under the Local Taxation Act of 1890) which had made additional funds available to counties and boroughs for a similar purpose. Thus the counties and county boroughs, and the Science and Art Department were all assisting in secondary education. A major Act of Parliament was needed to straighten matters out.

The 1902 Act did this by making the counties and county boroughs education authorities. These new authorities were not, like the school boards, ad hoc bodies, directly elected for the sole object of administering education. They were the councils elected for all the purposes of local government, but by the Act they were obliged to appoint an education committee to which non-elected people with educational knowledge could be co-opted.

In 1895 Durham County Education Committee offered Spennymoor Urban District Council the loan of a sum of money to attract teachers to Spennymoor to teach all technical subjects of greatest local advantage. Under the Act of 1902 these classes were taken over by the County Council. Ten years later the County Council established the first local school devoted solely to education at secondary stage. Before purpose-built accommodation was provided in 1902

the school was housed in the Presbyterian schoolroom, Low Spennymoor. The foundation of the school owes much to the indefatigable efforts of Alderman Wraith. He had the foresight to realize that Spennymoor was in need of something at least a stage higher than the ordinary elementary school. As Chairman for the new education authority for Spennymoor under the Education Act of 1902 he was in an ideal position to press for such provision. At the official opening of the new school premises on 16 April 1912, Councillor Rhymer, one of the speakers, said that he felt proud of Spennymoor in being the first town in the county to have such a school. He hoped that all those in the district for whose benefit the school had been built would avail themselves of all the benefits to be derived from such an institution.

During the school board period, Tudhoe had grown from a small rural village into a sprawling industrial settlement. There had been an influx of population which naturally contained many children who needed educating. Although the voluntary societies and private schools had done their best to provide sufficient schools it was obvious that this provision was inadequate, added to which they were randomly sited, leaving areas of Tudhoe without educational provision. Although the working class of Tudhoe were interested in education, this fact was demonstrated by the fact that they always had at least one representative on the boards, it was not until 1876 that a school board was formed only after a mandate to do so was received from the Education Department.

Until 1870 it was impossible to draw any clear dividing line between urban and rural schools in respect of size, staffing and equipment. All were equally ill-equipped and very few had more than one teacher. After 1870 a difference appeared between the large and small boards and the gap between their scale of

provision progressively widened. The reason for this was almost entirely financial. The large urban boards could afford to build big schools, to equip and staff them on a relatively luxurious scale, and to attract the most energetic and ambitious teachers by paying higher salaries. By contrast the resources of many rural boards were scarcely adequate for the duties entrusted to them. The ad hoc nature of the boards, the limited area many of them covered, together with the holding of triennial elections, made their members highly "rate-conscious". Hence the salary bill, the chief item of recurrent expenditure was always carefully scrutinized.

Tudhoe was a small school board. It had control over four schools. They provided a pupil-teacher centre and a higher-grade class. The board provided an education for many children who would otherwise have had none. They were justly proud of any academic achievements made by their pupils. Two boys from Spennymoor school gained scholarships to Bishop Auckland Grammar School in 1900.[2] The following year this school again had academic success when five boys won Lord Crewe Scholarships to the Johnston Technical School in Durham.[3]

While it may have been more interesting to study the work of a large school board which may have been controversial or innovatory, Tudhoe was typical of the majority of school boards in the country. It was small, it ran on a very tight budget, it was neither controversial nor innovatory but it did provide an education for thousands of children.

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2. Minutes of Tudhoe School Board, 3 August 1900.

3. Ibid., 4 October 1901.

Appendix I

Candidates for Tudhoe School Board Elections

Source: Durham County Advertiser.
Minute books of Tudhoe School Board.

First School Board, February 1876 - February 1879

The election took place on 11 February 1876. The first nine were elected.

Candidate	Occupation	Votes
Canon Joseph Watson	R. C. priest	2202
William Reed	Colliery manager	1735
Thomas Reay	Coal owner	1664
Rev. John Gaskill	Vicar	1569
William Johnson	Colliery viewer	1438
William Hutchinson	Manager of ironworks	1261
Rev. John Watson	Methodist minister	1254
Robert Hope	Miner	1190
John Laverick	Colliery viewer	1081
Robert Forest	Grocer	919
Robert Greig	Farmer	846
Rev. Edward Wilkinson	Vicar	821
Rev. Charles Friskin	Methodist minister	761
Nicholas Brabban	Miner	722
John Calvert	Draper	681
Thomas Blackburn	Foreman joiner	566
George Wilson	Miner	406
Christopher Dobson	Grocer	268
William Dobson	Private teacher	251
George Parker	Miner	215
John Rogerson	Manager of Weardale Iron and Coal Co.	28

Second School Board, February 1879 - February 1882

The election took place on 3 February 1879. The first nine were elected.

Candidate	Occupation	Votes
William Hutchinson	Manager of ironworks	2335
Stephenson Stobbs	Surveyor	2174
Rev. John Gaskill	Vicar	1794
Rev. Edward Wilkinson	Vicar	1669
William Johnson	Colliery manager	1667
Henry Ground	Colliery viewer	1571
Thomas Reay	Colliery owner	1541
Canon Joseph Watson	R. C. priest	1481
Rev. Charles Friskin	Methodist minister	1433
John Pickering	Clerk	1225
N. Pearson		1050
William Reed	Colliery manager	858
William Dobson	Private teacher	857
J. Browney		238
W. Dodshon		118

Third School Board, February 1882 - February 1885

The election took place on 3 February 1882. The first nine were elected. No record appears to have survived of the number of votes cast.

Candidate	Occupation
Thomas Colley	Foreman moulder
Rev. Charles Friskin	Methodist minister
Rev. John Gaskill	Vicar
Robert Hedley	Engineer
William Johnson	Colliery manager
John Pickering	Clerk
Stephenson Stobbs	Surveyor
Canon Joseph Watson	R. C. Priest
George Wraith	Agent to Weardale Iron and Coal Co.
Thomas Blackburn	
Edwin Cartwright	Boot and shoe dealer.

Fourth School Board, February 1885 - February 1888

The election took place on 2 February 1885. These nine candidates were elected. There were six others who failed to get elected.

Candidate	Occupation	Votes
Robert Hedley	Manager of blast furnaces	3607
William Johnson	Colliery manager	2521
John Pickering	Clerk	2503
William Tunstall	Miner and newsagent	2055
William Blenkin	Miner	1955
Canon Joseph Watson	R. C. priest	1868
Robert Oliver	Merchant	1297
Henry Palmer	Colliery manager	1245
Rev. John Gaskill	Vicar	942

Fifth School Board, February 1888 - February 1891

The election took place on 3 February 1888. The first nine were elected.

Candidate	Occupation	Votes
William Johnson	Colliery manager	3088
William Blenkin	Miner	1939
Henry Palmer	Engineer	1930
John Pickering	Clerk	1732
Thomas Farthing	Chemist	1578
Canon Joseph Watson	R. C. priest	1493
Robert Hope	Deputy overman	1415
William Fleming	Land agent	1372
Thomas Black	Manager of ironworks	1272
Robert Hedley	Manager of blast furnaces	1154
Isaac Beven		1058
William Cutty		969
Robert Oliver	Merchant	950
William Parker		687
John Bethel		282

Sixth School Board, February 1891 - February 1894

The election took place on 2 February 1891. The first nine were elected.

Candidate	Occupation	Votes
Thomas Black	Assistant manager	2631
John Pickering	Book keeper	2614
Canon Joseph Watson	R. C. priest	2155
William Blenkin	Miner	2068
Rev. Henry Holmes	Methodist minister	2050
Henry Palmer	Engineer	1939
William Fleming	Land agent	1826
John Rogerson	Co-op stores manager	1774
William Steele	Coke inspector	1556
John Marsh	Miner	1184
Thomas Farthing Chemist	Chemist	1022

Seventh School Board, February 1894 - February 1897

The election took place on 2 February 1894. The first nine were elected.

Candidate	Occupation	Votes
Thomas Black	Manager of ironworks	2442
John Caldwell	Architect and Surveyor	2268
John Eagle	Miner	2119
Rev. James Etchells	Methodist minister	2052
John Pickering	Cashier	2040
John Rogerson	Co-op stores manager	1933
Canon Joseph Watson	R.C. priest	1818
William Johnson	Gentleman	1633
Henry Palmer	Engineer	1622
William Griffiths	Miner	1359
William Steele	Coke inspector	1249
William Fleming	Land agent	1248
Edwin Cartwright	Boot and shoe dealer	104

Eighth School Board, February 1897 - February 1900

The election took place on 29 January 1897. The first thirteen were elected.

Candidate	Occupation	Votes
John Pickering	Clerk	3281
Thomas Black	Manager of ironworks	3264
Canon Joseph Watson	R.C. priest	3018
James Potter	Surgeon	2607
Rev. Samuel Thompson	Vicar	2301
Matthew Lawson	Miner	2286
Rev. Daniel McKinley	Methodist minister	1881
John Caldwell	Surveyor	1747
John Rogerson	Co-op stores manager	1723
Rev. John White	Methodist minister	1715
Isaac King	Miner	1575
James Dodd	Solicitor	1453
William Birchall	Miner	1331
Arthur Dodwell	Miner	1177
William Nicholson	Engineman	1171
Henry Pearson	Insurance agent	1145
John Fleming	House agent	1095

Ninth School Board, February 1900 - April 1904

The election took place on 30 January 1900. The first thirteen were elected.

Candidate	Occupation	Votes
Canon Joseph Watson	R.C. priest	2721
William Dakers	Colliery manager	2714
Thomas Black	Manager of ironworks	2000
John Caldwell	Architect	1981
Rev. James Scott	Methodist minister	1858
Matthew Lawson	Miner	1491
John Rogerson	Co-op stores manager	1409
William Nicholson	Engineman	1402
Rev. Peter Hughes	Vicar	1348
William Keers	Miner	1338
Rev. Daniel McKinley	Methodist minister	1293
Rev. Charles Lumsden	Methodist minister	1072
William Outhwaite	Steel worker	998
William Birchall	Miner	939
Andrew Paterson	Miner	929
Henry Pearson	Insurance agent	786
John Fleming	House agent	730
James Dodd	Solicitor	719
John Reavley	Newsagent	577
George Farthing	Chemist	490
Edward Robson	Deputy overman	402

Appendix II

Members of Tudhoe School Board

Source: Durham County Advertiser
Minute books of Tudhoe School Board.

Abbreviations:

Ch.	Chairman
Dftd	Defeated
El.	Elected
M	Member
Nom.	Nominated
Res.	Resigned
V.C.	Vice-chairman

Robert Anderson Nom. October 1879 after the disqualification of Thomas Reay. M. 1879-82; did not stand again.

William Birchall Miner. El. 1897. Dftd. 1900.

Thomas Black. Manager of the ironworks. El. 1888. M. 1888-1904. Ch. 1894 and 1897. Justice of the Peace.

William Blenkin. Miner. El. 1885. M. 1885-1892. Res. July 1892.

John Coldwell. Architect. El. 1894. M. 1894-1904. M. Spennymoor Urban Council.

William Cole. Nom. April 1896 after the resignation of Henry Palmer. Did not stand again.

Thomas Colley. Foreman moulder. El. 1882. M. 1882-1885. Also M. of Spennymoor Local Board.

William Dakers. Colliery manager. Nom. July 1899, after the resignation of James Potter. M. 1899-1904. Also M. of Durham Board of Guardians.

James Dodd. Solicitor and local historian. El. 1897. Dftd. 1900.

John Eagle. Miner. El. 1894. M. 1894-1895. Res. June 1895.

James Etchells. Methodist minister. Nom. December 1893 after the resignation of Henry Holmes. M. 1893-1896. Res. August 1896 - leaving the district.

Thomas Farthing. Chemist. El. 1888. Dftd. 1891. M. Spennymoor Local Board.

William Fleming. Land agent. El. 1888. M. 1888-1894. Dftd. 1894. M. Durham County Agricultural Society.

Charles Friskin. Presbyterian minister. Dftd. 1876. El. 1879. M. 1879-1884.

John Gaskill. Vicar. El. 1876. M. 1876-1887. Res. November 1887. V.C. 1882. Ch. 18885. Ch. of Spennymoor Local Board.

Henry Ground. Colliery viewer. El. 1879. Died April 1881.

Robert Hedley. Manager of the blast furnaces. Nom. December 1880 after the resignation of William Hutchinson. M. 1880-1888. Dftd. 1888.

Oliver Heslop. Outfitter. Nom. December 1887 after the resignation of John Gaskill. M. December 1887 to February 1888. Did not stand again.

Henry Holmes. Methodist minister. El. 1891. Res. September 1892 - leaving the area.

Robert Hope. Miner. El. 1876. Did not stand in 1879. Re-el. 1888. Died February 1889.

Peter Hughes. Vicar. Nom. December 1897 after the resignation of Samuel Thompson. M. 1897-1904.

William Hutchinson. Manager of the ironworks. El. 1876. M. 1876-1880. Res. December 1880.

William Johnson. Mining engineer. El. 1876. M. 1876-1891. V.C. 1876, 1879, 1887, 1888. Ch. 1880, 1882. Prominent Methodist. M. of Durham Rural Sanitary Authority.

William Johnson. Gentleman. El. 1894. M. 1894-1897.

William Keers. Miner. El. 1900. M. 1900-1904.

Isaac King. Miner. El. 1897. M. 1897-1900; did not stand again.

Walter Lang. Vicar. Nom. October 1902 after the resignation of James Scott. M. 1902-1904.

John Laverick. Colliery viewer. El. 1876. M. 1876-1879; did not stand again.

Matthew Lawson. Miner. El. 1897. M. 1897-1904.

Charles Lumsden. Methodist minister. Nom. November 1899 after the resignation of John White. M. 1899-1902. Res. September 1902 - leaving the district.

Daniel McKinley. Methodist minister. El. 1897. M. 1897-1902. V.C. 1900. Res. July 1902 - leaving the district.

William McNicholl. Vicar. Nom. November 1902 after the resignation of Charles Lumsden. M. 1902-1904.

John Marsh. Miner. Dftd. 1891. Nom. August 1892 after the resignation of William Blenkin. Res. December 1893.

William Nicholson. Engineman. Nom. April 1896 after the resignation of William Steele. Dftd. 1897. El. 1900. Res. December 1900 - leaving the district.

Robert Oliver. Merchant. El. 1885. M. 1885-1888. Dftd. 1888.

William Outhwaite. Steel worker. El. 1900. M. 1900-1904.

Henry Palmer. Colliery manager. Nom. June 1881 after the death of Henry Ground. Res. October 1881. El. 1885. M. 1885-1896. V.C. 1894. Ch. 1888, 1891. Res. February 1896 - leaving the district.

Emmerson Phillipson. Methodist minister. Nom. September 1902 after the resignation of Daniel McKinley. M. 1902-1904.

John Pickering. Clerk. El. 1882. M. 1882-1900; did not stand again.

James Potter. Surgeon. El. 1897. M. 1897-1899. Res. May 1899, leaving the district.

Thomas Reay. Colliery owner. El. 1876 and 1879. Ch. 1876 and 1879. Disqualified September 1879 for non-attendance.

William Reed. Colliery manager. El. 1876. M. 1876-1879. Dftd. 1879.

John Rogerson. Manager of co-op stores. El. 1891. V.C. 1897. Ch. 1900. M. 1891-1904.

James Scott. Presbyterian minister. El. 1900. M. 1900-1902. Res. July 1902. - leaving the district.

William Steele. Coke inspector. Nom. April 1889 after the death of Robert Hope. Dftd. 1894. Nom. July 1895 after the resignation of John Eagle. Res. February 1896 - leaving the district.

Samuel Thompson. Vicar. Educated, Trinity College, Dublin. El. 1897. Res. November 1897. - leaving the district.

William Tunstall. Miner and newsagent. El. 1885. M. 1885-1887. Disqualified April 1887 for non-attendance.

John Watson. Methodist minister. El. 1876. M. 1876-1879; did not stand again.

Joseph Watson. R.C. priest. El. 1876. M. 1876-1904. V.C. 1891-1904. Also M. of Spennymoor Local Board.

John White. Methodist minister. Nom. October 1896 after the resignation of James Etchells. M. 1896-1899. Res. October 1899, leaving the district.

Edward Wilkinson. Vicar. Educated, Trinity College, Cambridge. Dftd. 1876. El. 1879. M. 1879-1882. M. of Durham Board of Guardians and Spennymoor Local Board; also Justice of the Peace.

John Wilkinson. Nom. February 1901 after the resignation of William Nicholson. M. 1901-1904.

George Wraith. Agent for Weardale Iron and Coal Co. El. 1882. M. 1882-1885. Dftd. 1885.

Appendix III

Chairmen and Vice-chairmen of Tudhoe School Board

Source: Minute books of Tudhoe School Board.

First School Board, February 1876 - February 1879

Chairman:	Thomas Reay
Vice-chairman:	William Johnson

Second School Board, February 1879 - February 1882

Chairman:	Thomas Reay, resigned September 1879.
Vice-chairman:	William Hutchinson, until September 1879.
Chairman:	William Hutchinson, from September 1879, resigned December 1880.
Vice-chairman:	William Johnson, from September 1879 until December 1880.
Chairman:	William Johnson, from December 1880.
Vice-chairman:	Joseph Watson, from January 1881.

Third School Board, February 1882 - February 1885

Chairman:	William Johnson, resigned September 1882.
Vice-chairman:	John Gaskill, until September 1882.
Chairman:	John Gaskill, from September 1882.
Vice-chairman:	Robert Hedley, from September 1882.

Fourth School Board, February 1885 - February 1888

Chairman:	John Gaskill, resigned November 1887.
Vice-chairman:	Robert Hedley, until November 1887.
Chairman:	Robert Hedley, from November 1887.
Vice-chairman:	William Johnson, from November 1887.

Fifth School Board, February 1888 - February 1891

Chairman:	Henry Palmer
Vice-chairman:	William Johnson

Sixth School Board, February 1891 - February 1894

Chairman:	Henry Palmer
Vice-chairman:	Joseph Watson

Seventh School Board, February 1894 - February 1897

Chairman:	Thomas Black
Vice-chairmen:	Henry Palmer Joseph Watson

Eighth School Board, February 1897 - February 1900

Chairman:	Thomas Black
Vice-chairmen:	John Rogerson Joseph Watson

Ninth School Board, February 1900 - April 1904

Chairman:	John Rogerson
Vice-chairmen:	Daniel McKinley, resigned July 1902 Joseph Watson

Appendix IV

Management Committees of Tudhoe Board Schools

Source: Minute Books of Tudhoe School Board.

February 1882 - February 1885

Spennymoor Board Schools

Thomas Colley
John Gaskill
Stephenson Stobbs

Tudhoe Grange Board Schools

Charles Friskin
Robert Hedley
John Pickering

Tudhoe Colliery Board Schools

William Johnson
Joseph Watson
George Wraith

East Howle Board Schools

John Gaskill
Charles Friskin
William Johnson

February 1885 - February 1888

Spennymoor Board Schools

John Gaskill	Resigned November 1887
Robert Hedley	
Robert Oliver	
William Tunstall	Disqualified April 1887
Thomas Black	From May 1887
John Heslop	From December 1887

Tudhoe Grange Board Schools

William Blenkin
Robert Hedley
Henry Palmer
John Pickering

Tudhoe Colliery Board Schools

William Blenkin
William Johnson
John Pickering
Joseph Watson

East Howle Board Schools

John Gaskill	Resigned November 1887
William Johnson	
Robert Oliver	
Henry Palmer	
John Heslop	From December 1887

February 1888 - February 1891

Spennymoor Board Schools

Thomas Black
Thomas Farthing
William Fleming
John Pickering

Tudhoe Grange Board Schools

Thomas Black
William Blenkin
William Fleming
John Pickering

Tudhoe Colliery Board Schools

William Blenkin
William Johnson
Joseph Watson

East Howle Board Schools

Robert Hope	Died March 1889
William Johnson	
Henry Palmer	
William Steele	From April 1889

February 1891 - February 1894

Spennymoor Board Schools

Thomas Black	
Henry Holmes	Resigned November 1893
John Pickering	
John Rogerson	
James Etchells	From December 1893

Tudhoe Grange Board Schools

Thomas Black	
William Blenkin	Resigned July 1892
William Fleming	
John Pickering	
John Marsh	From September 1892, resigned December 1893.

Tudhoe Colliery Board Schools

William Blenkin	Resigned July 1892
William Fleming	
John Rogerson	
Joseph Watson	
John Marsh	From September 1892, resigned December 1893.

East Howle Board Schools

Henry Holmes	Resigned November 1893
Henry Palmer	
William Steele	
Joseph Watson	
James Etchells	From December 1893.

February 1894 - February 1897

Spennymoor Board Schools

Thomas Black	
John Coldwell	
James Etchells	Resigned August 1896.
William Johnson	
John Rogerson	
John White	From October 1896

Tudhoe Grange Board Schools

John Coldwell	
John Eagle	Resigned June 1895
John Pickering	
Joseph Watson	
William Steele	From July 1895, resigned February 1896.

Tudhoe Colliery Board Schools

John Eagle	Resigned June 1895
James Etchells	Resigned August 1896
William Johnson	
John Pickering	
Joseph Watson	
William Steele	From July 1895, resigned February 1896.
John White	From October 1896

East Howle Board Schools

Thomas Black	
John Coldwell	
James Etchells	Resigned August 1896.
William Johnson	
Henry Palmer	Resigned February 1896.
John White	From October 1896.

February 1897 - February 1900

Spennymoor Board Schools

William Birchall	
John Coldwell	
James Dodd	
Charles Lumsden	From November 1899
Daniel McKinley	
John Rogerson	Chairman
John White	Resigned October 1899.

Tudhoe Grange Board Schools

William Birchall	
Thomas Black	
James Dodd	
Isaac King	
Daniel McKinley	
John Pickering :	Chairman

Tudhoe Colliery Board Schools

John Coldwell	
William Dakers	From July 1899.
Peter Hughes	From December 1897.
Matthew Lawson	
Charles Lumsden	From November 1899.
James Potter	Resigned May 1899.
Samuel Thompson	Resigned November 1897.
Joseph Watson :	Chairman
John White	Resigned October 1899.

East Howle Board Schools

Thomas Black :	Chairman
Peter Hughes	From December 1897
Isaac King	
Matthew Lawson	
Charles Lumsden	From November 1899
James Potter	Resigned May 1899
Samuel Thompson	Resigned November 1897
John White	Resigned October 1899.

February 1900 - April 1904

Spennymoor Board Schools

Thomas Black	
John Coldwell	
Charles Lumsden	Resigned September 1902.
Daniel KcKinley : Chairman	Resigned July 1902.
William McNicholl	From November 1902.
William Outhwaite	
Emmerson Phillipson	From July 1902.
John Rogerson	

Tudhoe Grange Board Schools

John Coldwell	
Peter Hughes : Chairman	
Walter Lang	From October 1902.
Matthew Lawson	
Charles Lumsden	Resigned September 1902.
William McNicholl	From November 1902.
William Outhwaite	
James Scott	Resigned July 1902.

Tudhoe Colliery Board Schools

William Dakers
Peter Hughes
William Keers
Matthew Lawson
John Rogerson
Joseph Watson : Chairman

East Howle Board Schools

Thomas Black	
William Keers	
Walter Lang	From October 1902
Daniel McKinley	Resigned July 1902.
William Nicholson : Chairman	Resigned December 1900.
James Scott : Chairman	from February 1901, resigned July 1901.
John Wilkinson	From February 1901, Chairman from November 1902.

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